

PEACE NEWS

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2d.

WHAT ROOSEVELT SHOULD HAVE TOLD THE DICTATORS



"Le Petit Bleu," Paris.
As the French see Mr. Roosevelt

"National problems can be solved at the council table . . . We are prepared to make concessions . . . I am suspending all preparations for war"

A GREAT ovation greeted the announcement by Canon Stuart Morris, at the close of the second session of the Peace Pledge Union Annual General Meeting last Saturday evening, of President Roosevelt's reported invitation to Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini to attend a world conference.

Enthusiasm was somewhat tempered the following morning by the realization that attached to the invitation were conditions which implied distrust of the future intentions of the Axis Powers. This criticism found expression in the text of the cable which was sent, on behalf of the AGM, to President Roosevelt, Mr. Chamberlain, Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini:—

"THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION REPRESENTING 125,000 BRITISH PACIFISTS WELCOMES CALL FOR CONFERENCE BUT REQUESTS WITHDRAWAL OF ANY PRELIMINARY CONDITIONS AND ASKS THAT GREAT BRITAIN SHOULD UNDERTAKE TO TERMINATE PRESENT IMPERIALISM AND ECONOMIC NATIONALISM.—STUART MORRIS, DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE, ENDSLEIGH STREET, LONDON."

That the call for a "peace pledge" for ten years, with the naming of 30 countries likely to be affected, seriously prejudiced German and Italian acceptance, was clearly indicated by the press reception given to Mr. Roosevelt's proposal.

The tone of it was described in Rome as "a violation of the tradition of diplomatic procedure," and Mr. Roosevelt's gesture was seen in Germany as another step in the attempted encirclement of the Reich.

It is fair to assert that, however admirable the intention, the psychology of the approach to the Dictators was faulty.

How should Mr. Roosevelt have addressed them so as better to ensure their acceptance of his invitation?

The following revised version of his message consists of those passages which we believe to be exemplary, together with deletions (particularly the references to conditions), modifications and additions (printed in bold type), that appear to us to be more appropriate to the urgency of the situation and the needs of humanity than his original words.

THE MESSAGE REWRITTEN

YOU and I realize, I think, that throughout the world hundreds of millions of human beings are living in constant fear of a new war, or even a series of wars.

The existence of this fear—and the possibility of such a conflict—is of definite concern to the people of the United States for whom I speak, as it is also to the peoples of the other nations of the entire western hemisphere, **not least your own great nation.**

All of them know that any major war even if it were to be confined to other continents must bear heavily on them during its continuation and also for generations to come.

Because of the fact that after the acute tension in which the world has been living during the past few weeks there would seem to be at least a momentary relaxation—because no troops are at this moment on the march—this may be an opportune

moment for me to send you this message. On a previous occasion I have approached you on behalf of the settlement of political, economic and social problems by peaceful methods, and without resort to arms.

But the tide of events seems to have reverted to the threat of arms. If such threats continue it seems inevitable, **I am sure you will agree,** that much of the world must become involved in common ruin.

All the world, victor nations, vanquished nations and neutral nations will suffer. I refuse to believe that the world is, of necessity, such a prisoner of destiny. On the contrary, it is clear that the leaders of the great nations have it in their power to liberate their peoples from the disaster that impends.

It is equally clear that in their own minds and in their own hearts the peoples themselves desire that their fears shall be ended.

You have repeatedly asserted that you have no desire for war. **Similar, and I believe, equally sincere, protestations have been made**

(Continued on back page)

A full report of the second annual general meeting of the Peace Pledge Union appears on pp. 7, 10 & 11

Commonsense in the House of Lords

ADDRESSING the annual general meeting of the Peace Pledge Union last weekend Lord Ponsonby commented upon the speech of the Earl of Darnley in the House of Lords on Thursday of last week.

Lord Darnley's speech, he said, was the only bright spot in a very gloomy debate, and he hoped that "Peace News" would be able to publish it in full. This we have pleasure in doing here:

I HAVE listened with great interest and attention to the description of the Government's foreign policy, which we have been given by the noble Viscount, the Foreign Secretary, and I hope he will consider me as trying to be helpful rather than critical if I say that it seems to me a very sad message to give to the world.

It seems to me to be entirely a statement as to the course of the disease and nothing to do with the possible cure. It seems to me that we are but playing some ghastly game of chance in which the counters are human lives and in which there is no possible benefit to be gained by anybody.

I would like to explain a little what I mean. The position is that an anti-aggression camp is being formed against aggressors. If the anti-aggressors succeed in frightening the aggressors into peace by a display of armed force, will it be a good peace? I say it cannot be a lasting peace because the causes of unfriendliness between nations will still be there and possibly increased. If it brings war it is even worse, for war is by now known to confer no benefits on victor or vanquished.

Only Possible Solution

Is there not something better? Cannot we go a little deeper into the cause of this disease? I am sure I am in a minority if I say that I think the only possible solution

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The Week in Parliament

GOVERNMENT FORGETS OUR RECORD

BOTH the Lords and Commons were specially summoned from the Easter recess, on Thursday of last week, in order to hear statements from the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary in their respective Houses on the Italian occupation of Albania.

The Foreign Secretary was perturbed because the act was initiated on the day which was to most Christians, he said, the most sacred day of the year (Good Friday). Has the Foreign Secretary forgotten Palestine and India? Some of the most brutal lathi charges have been made at the time of religious festivals.

If the Foreign Secretary's conscience is so torn (as no doubt it was) over the incident happening on Good Friday, will he inquire of the Board of Trade as to how many armament factories in this country were working on Good Friday? Is there any difference? These remarks are not intended in any carping spirit at all, but offered as an earnest plea for honest reasoning.

They Forgot India

THE Prime Minister, in the Commons, gave an account of the immediate events leading up to this latest annexation. He continued by saying His Majesty's Government viewed the Italian claims with some scepticism and "no doubt all these matters will become clearer in the future than they are today."

The Prime Minister stated that in the meantime there was no doubt as to the general effect produced by the latest Italian action, and public opinion throughout the world had once again been profoundly shocked by this fresh exhibition of the use of force. Mr. Chamberlain, like Viscount Halifax, forgets Palestine, India, &c.

Mr. Chamberlain, in concluding, announced that British foreign policy had been, during the last week, to include Greece and Rumania in similar assurances as given to Poland, and reaffirm to Italy our concern in the retention of the *status quo* in the Mediterranean area. But the Government did not consider Italy had violated the Anglo-Italian agreement of twelve months ago. Further, Signor Mussolini, through the Italian Chargé d'Affairs in London, had during the last few days assured His Majesty's Government that the Italian troops would be withdrawn from Spain when General Franco had had his victory parade in Madrid during May.

"G.L.'s" Call

MR. GEORGE LANSBURY said imperialism was finished; they should build a world based on cooperation, brotherhood, and love. He said it should be understood that statesmanship should bring to the service of mankind all that there was in the world for the use of mankind, plus all the science and invention that God and nature had given them. Surely, when millions of lives were at stake, it was their duty to send out a call that they would discuss how they could use the world and not destroy it.

There was no doubt about his sincerity and the challenging quality of his speech. A crowded House listened to it with profound respect and was obviously moved, though unfortunately not sufficiently to take the same risks for peace as they were taking in preparing for war.

Mr. Attlee and Sir Archibald Sinclair addressed the House for the Labour and Liberal Parties, practically on the lines of the present policy of the Government, while Mr. Eden's speech followed a very similar line.

Mr. Sorensen (Lab.) said that the Prime Minister did not give that great moral, social, and international lead to the world that he should have given.

Mr. McGovern (ILP) said the sons of men who were killed, maimed, blinded, and bereft of reason in fighting for a war to dethrone the Kaiser were being told the same story today—the brutal and bloody dictatorship of Hitler could only be destroyed by mass slaughter.

It is too early to anticipate the length to which the British Government will support the Roosevelt plan, but, as Wilfred Wellock and Allen Skinner emphasized at the annual conference of the PPU, attempts to prevent war by purely palliative measures will not suffice. The only hope of a permanent solution, ensuring the peace of the world, is to tackle the root causes of the trouble by liquidating imperialism.

R.M.B.

HE WAS DISTRIBUTING LEAFLETS, ARRESTED

Pacifist's Warning Called "Insulting Behaviour"

DISTRIBUTION of a Peace Pledge Union leaflet, *The Warning*, has brought a London member of the PPU into conflict with the authorities.

The case will come on remand before Lambeth Police Court tomorrow.

The leaflet was specially written for distribution outside cinemas where the National Service recruiting film, *The Warning*, is being shown.

When the member in question, Mr. L. A. Hislam, arrived outside Camberwell Palace Cinema on Friday evening to distribute the leaflet, he was told by friends who had already been doing so that National Service supporters had complained of their activity.

Mr. Hislam went to the police station and explained to the inspector his intention of continuing distribution of the leaflet. The inspector warned him that action might be taken.

When Mr. Hislam proceeded to distribute the leaflet he was approached by National Service supporters who reproached him for his action. Two policemen then took him some yards down the road and told him to

go away.

Nothing daunted, he started to walk back to the cinema; the police then took him to the police station and charged him with insulting behaviour likely to provoke a breach of the peace.

The case came before the magistrate at Lambeth Police Court on Saturday, when a week's remand was granted.

Mr. Hislam is receiving legal assistance from the National Council for Civil Liberties.

Expensive, but Not the Real Thing

Ammunition used at recent demonstrations given by the School of Artillery and the Small Arms School on Salisbury Plain cost £10,000.

War-time conditions were not hardly observed, however, for "the organization of the large body of spectators was a model of efficiency and safety"—according to the *Daily Telegraph*.

From the Editor's Notebook

Stuart Morris to Resign Canonry Popular Anti-War Sentiment How to Help "Peace News"

THE ovation given at the AGM of the Peace Pledge Union to STUART MORRIS in recognition of his work for the movement was one of the features of the weekend gatherings. The news will be all the more welcome therefore that he is to make further sacrifices to make it possible for him to be more in London and at PPU headquarters than hitherto.

For our Chairman tells me that he is giving up such diocesan work as he has been doing for the past two years or more and is resigning his canonry at Birmingham.

No, I have not slipped up in calling him the union's Chairman, though at times during the AGM it seemed uncertain whether the union's leaders even existed, let alone who or what they were! Seventeen of them, however, had sufficient real existence as Sponsors to attend the conference.

Actually, of course, the position is quite clear. Even as I write, the process of electing a Central Council as the executive body for the coming year is going on. But until it is complete "the old order changeth" not.

In Unexpected Places

AMONG the more encouraging features of the sometimes discouraging discussions at the AGM was the insistence on the part of some that there is still a body of opinion in the country which, unknown to pacifists and without itself making any pretension of being pacifist, does, in effect, support the case against all war.

I think there can be no doubt, unfortunately, that that body of opinion is not so great as it has been. It came as something of a shock to hear LORD PONSONBY confess as much on Saturday. He is usually the first to remind us of the essentially pacific mind of the ordinary person.

But, as I say, the feeling against war does still exist in places where pacifists are not ready enough to expect it. One delegate told us of the strongly expressed reluctance of a number of bus conductors to whom he talked to go to war.

I have since received a letter (which was actually written from Peterborough the same day the conference was discussing these things) enclosing a newspaper cutting that shows the attitude of a football crowd to "National Service" propaganda. The Peterborough newspaper concerned apologetically reports that "an unfortunate incident marred the effectiveness" of the recruiting appeal, which was broadcast to the 6,000 spectators on "instruction from

the Football Association" to the Peterborough United club.

The report adds that the speaker "had just uttered the words 'There is something you must do,' when he was interrupted by a storm of jeering, whistling, and cat-calls. It was noticed that not only irresponsible youths, but men of mature age, were concerned in the unpleasant demonstration."

My correspondent says: "Men on the field told a friend of mine they got sick of it filling all the newspapers and all the wireless. If the Government wanted them, the Government must come and fetch them. A similar incident to that just reported at Peterborough also occurred at Leicester recently."

Bouquet

I CANNOT resist interpolating here the other remarks in this correspondent's letter, particularly in view of the discussion on *Peace News* at the AGM. I do so not merely to remind our critics that there are those whose support of the paper matches in enthusiasm the depth of the critics' disappointment, but in the hope of encouraging those who might be giving even greater help than they are giving.

For he begins by informing me that he has instructed his bank to send us £1 each quarter. That is in addition to taking the paper through his newsagent.

He adds, moreover: "Your journal is excellent. I do all I can to increase its sale... Your journal is a fine inspiration."

That is only one of numerous letters I receive in the same strain. I generally resist the temptation to publish them, as other papers do to a sometimes nauseating extent. But I would like to say an extra "thank you" to the writers, and also to the many who expressed similar thoughts to me personally last weekend. It is very encouraging.

Tower Hill

TO return again to the attitude of the general public to the pacifist case, a similar indication that it is not so depressing as might be supposed comes from Tower Hill.

One immediately thinks, of course, of DONALD SOPER. But it was he who told the PPU gathering in his church in Kingsway at the height of the recent crisis (when Cabinet meetings were frantically considering HITLER's occupation of Czechoslovakia) that his audience on Tower Hill was, to put it mildly, more critical of his pacifism than usual. He was even the

P.P.U. LETTERS TO ITALY

THE Peace Pledge Union is arranging for the dispatch by its members of letters addressed to inhabitants of Florence, Italy, on the lines of the letters sent to Berlin.

This decision has been prompted by a letter to a PPU member from English people recently returned from Florence in which they wrote:

"As soon as the Italian found out that we were English and could speak Italian, the floodgates were opened and in railway carriages, in shops, even in the churches, we had some most revealing conversations."

"If Mussolini thinks he can carry on a successful war with that resentful, disillusioned nation behind him, he is in for a sorry surprise."

"They told us they 'hated the Germans'; that they 'would like to put all the heads of the governments of Europe up against a wall and shoot them'; that 'there were no volunteers, or men going willingly into the army'; that 'all they wanted was peace.'"

"The trains were full of men called up; we passed stations all along our line, crowded with them, all hopeless, all saying to each other, 'Corraggio!' ('Courage!'). It was a pitiful picture of sheep sent to the slaughter."

It has been decided to send the PPU letters to Florence rather than Rome because it was felt that this type of letter would have a greater effect on a small city.

Anyone having any suggestions or comments to make on the proposal is invited to send them to David Spreckley at the PPU headquarters (6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1). Mr. Spreckley is also seeking an Italian and someone who knows Italian prepared to give voluntary assistance in drawing up and translating the letter.

"Peace News" Offices
3, Blackstock Road,
London, N.4

victim of remarks reminiscent of the war-time Hun-hating hysteria.

On Tuesday of this week, however, there was a much more attentive reception for the pacifist case as put by ALEX MILLER, of Birmingham, and J. D. MACLEAN, of Glasgow. They were speaking on the PPU's weekly platform.

The organizer of it MR. MILLMAN, of the City PPU Group, tells me, by the way, that sales of *Peace News* there, so far from dropping (as some have found in other parts of the country), have grown from two dozen till they now average six dozen a week.

He confirms the view of many with experience that much depends upon the way the paper is sold. He puts his team's success down to steady perseverance, together with a willingness to discuss points with prospective buyers and a readiness to hear their point of view.

Where Germany Gets Her Iron

AN official German source gives the following revealing figures of imports of pig iron into Germany from the democracies during the twelve months ended February, 1939:

	Six months March to Aug., 1938	Six months Sept., 1938, to Feb., 1939
From: —		
Belgium & Luxemb'g	32,340	131,754
France	23,757	204,506
U.K.	2,332	39,203
	58,429 (46% of Total)	375,463 (70% of Total)
Total	125,614	534,281

Protection Urged For Journalists

At the National Union of Journalists' annual conference at Bristol recently the Christian's position with regard to war was expressed by a North London Branch delegate who is a member of the Peace Pledge Union and the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

The delegate, Mr. Fred Hutchings, of Finchley, spoke on a resolution (which was carried) urging the National Executive of the Union to endeavour to obtain security of tenure for members called up or volunteering for "national service" and ARP, or those penalized in any way for refusing to take part in any war activity, and to examine the reserved occupations list with the object of ensuring that interests of members are safeguarded.

Witnesses to Peace In Stone

SYMBOLS OF MAN'S STUPIDITY—
AND OF HIS ASPIRATION

By Zonia Baber

THE appreciation of international peace has had a deeper and more widespread development during the last sixty years than in all previous time, if the erection of peace monuments may be accepted as evidence. Of the forty-seven peace monuments that the Peace Symbols Committee of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, United States section, has located (doubtless there are others) thirty are international.

The Greeks were the first to personify peace, so far as we know. The beautiful statue of Irene, goddess of peace, holding Plutus, god of wealth, by Kephisodotos, Athens, fourth century, B.C. is well known. The appreciation of peace also found expression in Greece in a "Peace Lighthouse" erected on Mount Lycabettus, on the outskirts of Athens, in 1930 by a Greek peace society in honour of the Congress of Universal Peace meeting there in that year. It was to be relighted each time the League of Nations held its sessions.

The earliest modern peace symbol the WIL has found is the "Peace Plough" made in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in 1876, of swords presented by soldiers of the Mexican and Civil Wars. Exhibited at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, it has since been in the Alabama Room in Geneva Town Hall, Switzerland.

"STATUE OF LIBERTY"

The first international peace monument erected is declared to be the "Statue of Liberty" on Bedloe's Island, New York Harbour, a gift of the French people to the people of the United States in 1886, as a symbol of friendship and peace. The next is the "Christ of the Andes," dedicated in 1904 on the Chile-Argentine boundary.

Nineteen international peace monuments commemorate more than a hundred years of peace on the Canada-United States unfortified boundary of more than 3,000 miles.

Closely related to these is the Rush-Bagot memorial tablet, erected in 1935 in Washington, D.C., on the site where the British Legation stood in 1817, when the agreement was signed there which brought about the removal of armed vessels from the Great Lakes.

Norway and Sweden made an important contribution to international peace by erecting a "Century of Peace Movement on their common boundary in 1914."

The inception of the peace monuments is found, in the majority of cases, in a small group or organization of peace-minded persons, but the "Universal Postal Union Monument" is an important exception. This monument, at Berne, Switzerland, commemorates the twenty-fifth anniversary (1899) of the Universal Postal Union. This was the first time that nearly all the governments of the earth united to erect,



The Eternal Light Peace Monument, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.

at their common expense, a monument as a symbol of peaceful international co-operation.

The "Pan American Fraternity Tree" at Havana, Cuba (1928), also originated in the cooperation of governments in the Sixth Pan-American Congress.

Space will not allow a description of each of the peace monuments, but there were two erected last year which deserve special consideration.

At the dedication of the Eternal Light peace monument at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, on July 4, the living soldiers of the Civil War, both North and South, then ninety or more years of age, were present.

On the top of the shaft of the limestone monument, about fifty feet high, is a constant light, which is visible at night for twenty-five miles. The inscription on the shaft, beginning on the left and continuing on the right, reads: "An enduring light to guide us in unity—with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right.—Lincoln."

SYMBOL OF SHAME

The Symbol of Shame, a giant German shell mounted upon an imposing, triangular stone pedestal, stands on the campus of Rollins College, Winter Park, Florida. Each of the three sides of the pedestal bears an inscription, two were written by Hamilton Holt, President of Rollins College.

The front inscription reads:

Pause, Passer-By
and
Hang Your Head in Shame

This Engine of Destruction, Torture and Death Symbolizes

The Prostitution of the Inventor
The Avarice of the Manufacturer
The Blood-Guilt of the Statesman
The Savagery of the Soldier
The Perverted Patriotism of the Citizen
The Debasement of the Human Race

That It Can Be Employed
As an Instrument in Defense of
Liberty, Justice and Right
In Nowise Invalidates
The Truth of the Words Here Graven



A symbol of shame, unveiled on the campus of Rollins College, Winston Park, Florida, on Armistice Day, 1938.

U.S. Quakers' Aid for Starving Spain

The Committee on Spain, American Friends' Service Committee, is making special efforts to move to Spain some of the three million bushels of surplus wheat that has been offered by the American Government; it is estimated that ten million people are starving in Spain today.

The wheat is offered by the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation to the American Red Cross, which releases it to the American Friends' Service Committee as fast as they can pay the cost of moving it to seaboard and loading it on the ships which are waiting to transport the wheat free of charge. So far the committee has been able to move less than a quarter of a million bushels.

Women's Demonstration in Holland

The sixth annual Women's Peace Procession will be held in Rotterdam, Holland, on May 17. A large number of associations in other countries, including England, France, Switzerland, Norway, Greece, the USA, India, and the Netherlands East Indies, are supporting the procession.

A joint petition will be presented to the governments in the various countries and to the League of Nations through the Permanent Court of International Justice.

An appeal to the women of Holland asks them to "join the thousands who—without any distinction of political or religious conviction—appeal to the conscience of humanity by silently testifying to their will to a just peace."

Campaign for a World City

Despite the closing by the Belgian Government five years ago of a "world centre" he had started, Mr. Paul Otlet, a Belgian pacifist, with a few hundred followers, still continues a campaign for the establishment of an international city.

He envisages it as the home of all international associations, with representatives of all nations present, and a world conference permanently in session to deal with economic, political, and social problems.

M. Otlet established his "world centre" at Brussels in 1920.



Irene, Greek Goddess of Peace, holding Plutus, God of Wealth. By Cephisodotos, 4th Century B.C. Athens.

Pacifism Gains Ground in Australia

From Our Own Correspondent

TWELVE months ago pacifism did not exist as a practical movement in New South Wales. There were individual pacifists among the Society of Friends and in the churches; but the great mass of peace-loving people looked to the League of Nations Union and to the International Peace Campaign as the peace organizations.

The failure of collective security, the growing consciousness that the policy of these societies must mean war, the influence of the books of Huxley, Bertrand Russell, Richard Gregg, Bart de Ligt and George Lansbury, caused the formation of a small group which adopted the rather pretentious title of Australian Peace Pledge Union. Nine months of work, study and meeting together every fortnight have welded the group into a unity. The membership and size of meetings have steadily increased.

An effective campaign has been carried out against the introduction of compulsory military training. A news-service, *Fact*, has been commenced and promises well. Several street meetings have been held. The sale of *Peace News* has been increased to 80 copies weekly. During Lent, clergy members organized special services of a pacifist character, which were, in some cases, followed by special discussions among members of the congregation.

National Movement Next?

A sub-group has been formed at Newcastle. Close contact has been preserved with the PPU in South Australia, while the War Resisters' International section in Victoria has now become the Victorian Branch of the APPU. With the growing possibility of a branch in Queensland and the development of a scheme for a loose, working Federal executive, the way now seems clear for a genuine national movement.

Conscription does not seem a practical issue in Australia at the moment. Eight months ago a strong campaign on the "Tune into Britain" lines was started, supported by well-known militarists. Because of the widely-published statement that Australians wanted compulsory training the Australian Peace Pledge Union commenced a canvass of representative groups. Some of the results obtained were:—Sydney University Students, Yes, 135, No, 409; Sydney Teachers' College, Yes, 148, No, 569; a ward of an industrial electorate, Yes, 27, No, 670; Religious bodies, Yes, 35, No, 510; a vote in the Sydney Domain, Yes, 12, No, 1,207; various political groups, Yes, 43, No, 383.

Failure of Militia Drive

On the eve of a Cabinet meeting to decide the matter ten youth organizations forwarded to all Members of Parliament a joint protest framed by the Australian Peace Pledge Union. Cabinet, despite the strong support given to compulsory training by leading members, refused to risk public opposition. Instead it was decided to start on a wide-spread campaign for militia recruits, the campaign to be conducted by the former war-time Prime Minister, Mr. W. M. Hughes.

The militia drive has become a farce which is daily ridiculed in the press. Uniforms can be provided for only a small section, instructors are lacking, and despite Government boasting of the results attained, it has been officially admitted that only fifteen percent of the recruits are retained after two or three drills.

After two failures to stage a public rally in support of conscription, the Australian Defence League was instructed by the Government to drop the matter, and it is now pointed out that it will take twelve months to absorb the recruits now in hand.

SCHOOLS

BELONGING TO THE
SOCIETY OF FRIENDS (QUAKERS)
IN GREAT BRITAIN

(with numbers, age-ranges, and non-Friend Fees).

BOYS' SECONDARY BOARDING SCHOOLS

Ackworth School, nr. Pontefract	199: 9-18: £110
Bootham School, York	144: 12-19: £165
Leighton Park School, Reading	150: 12-19: £189

GIRLS' SECONDARY BOARDING SCHOOLS

Ackworth School, nr. Pontefract	172: 9-18: £110
The Mount School, York	118: 13-19: £153

CO-EDUCATIONAL SECONDARY BOARDING SCHOOLS

Friends School, Gt. Ayton, Yorks.	160: 9-17: £81
Friends' School, Saffron Walden, Essex	208: 10-18: £99
(Junior)	30: 7-10: £99
Sidcot School, Winscombe, Somerset	160: 10-18: £123
Friends' School, Wigton, Cumb.	110: 7-17: £88

CO-EDUCATIONAL "MODERN" BOARDING SCHOOL

Friends' School, Sibford, nr. Banbury	158: 10-17: £81
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Apply to SCHOOL, or to SECRETARY, Friends Education Council,

40, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Pacifists and the Crisis :: Personal Aggressiveness and War

THE new aggressive policy of the Government supported by the oppositions has left the pacifist with an immediate task if Europe is to be saved from immediate war. The policy sees as its end war, war for freedom, democracy, but still war.

It is the duty, therefore, of all pacifists to unite in local groups and preach our cause more earnestly than ever before. Groups should at this time be holding meetings all over the country, using the columns of the press, taking every opportunity for discussion and debate.

But I believe that pacifist groups must do more than this. It is possible that our efforts may fail, and we must face that fact. We must be prepared for the arrival of a new crisis or even an outbreak of war, and our plans must be made now.

In such an event pacifist beliefs can only be effective if local groups are coordinated, are in communication with each other throughout the country before the event arrives, and we must have a common "emergency plan" which will be set in motion all over the country when the word is given.

For this purpose groups should be studying and organizing passive resistance and non-cooperation, and should be making specific plans for their locality. They should also attempt to make preparations to deal with such eventualities as their members being brought before the courts, dismissed from their employment and being refused unemployment benefit.

I feel that there is a need for a national insurance policy for such members and their families, organized by headquarters, but certainly local groups should prepare themselves now. I feel too that we should state our position openly and clearly and ask the Government what it is going to do with us in time of war. Such a question would strengthen our movement, and bring our position before the country.

I do not believe that another Great War will be fought in this world because I know that the peoples of the world hate war, and have seen the futility and hypocrisy. But it is our task to give that feeling expression and action. We can only be strong enough to succeed in this task if we are united, coordinated, and prepared.

JOHN C. HATCH.

School House, Catherine Slack, Halifax.

Preparations for War

I have come to the following conclusions, which might interest others:

1. Some indirect preparation is impossible to avoid to a certain extent.
2. Direct preparation should be avoided.
3. If no preparations—would there be war? In my opinion no, for the following reason. In the event of war, and there being no ARP defence, the country would soon find itself in ruins and the population exterminated. Therefore, if we all refused to support ARP the Government, realizing the uselessness of an unprepared nation going to war with a prepared nation, would then have to find other methods than war of settling disputes.

FLORA COLLAN.

"Penlee," Irby Street, Boston.

Pen Friendships

For some years I have been working for better understanding and more good will between nations. Perhaps some of your readers might be interested.

If they write me I shall do my best to put them in touch with a suitable pen friend. I have connexions all over the world, and I get demands from all parts of the world.

Those who are desirous of pen friends are kindly asked to inform me of their name and address, age and sex, interests, languages they can correspond in, and some information on the countries where they may have friends already and those where they would like friends, and to send me a self-addressed envelop and (not gummed on) one penny in unused English stamps (preferably half-penny stamps), as my postal expenses are high.

ASTRID HAUGSTRUP-SORENSEN.
Gronnegade 12, Vejle, Denmark.

Guilt for Aggression

Experts have emphasized that Germany has occupied Czechoslovakia and Italy has occupied Albania chiefly for strategic reasons, i.e., chiefly because they wish to strengthen their positions for a future war against Britain and France. But if either Britain or France had renounced war and disarmed unilaterally, a European war would now be impossible. So there would have been no very strong reason for German aggression against Czechoslovakia, and the Italian aggression against Albania.

Considered thus, the French and British Governments have a share in the moral guilt of aggression against Czechoslovakia and Albania.

JOHN R. STAGLES.

246 Vicarage Road, Leyton, E.10.

CHRIST AND HITLER

DISCUSSIONS on "what Christ would have done" in this or that emergency are usually both fanciful and irrelevant; but I think some protest should be made against the Rev. J. A. Davies's (*Peace News*, April 14) relegation of the countries annexed by Herr Hitler to the status of "our cloak," or "our shoes," which we should "run after him and give him."

"If he has stolen one country" says Mr. Davies, "then Christ says, run after him and give him another." But would Christ consider these hapless countries ours to give?

One can imagine his saying, "To resort to war is even more immoral and cruel than allowing the armed annexation of defenceless countries, the imprisonment or execution of their finest inhabitants, and the bringing up of their children in the darkness of the new barbarism, therefore you must let even this happen without resorting to the crime of war"—but surely not "Run after Hitler and give him another."

ROSE MACAULAY.

London, W.1.

Peace Conference Preparations

A GROUP of lecturers and members of the Economic Road to Peace Conference met recently at the Chesham Hotel with members of several organizations known to have similar aims. This meeting appointed a council to consider the principles, programme, and policy of a political organization which could proceed to give active expression to the work of the conference.

The Council has found in a short time an amazing agreement on principles and policy. The points agreed are now being given form and will be placed before a meeting at Dennison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, on Friday, April 28, at 8 p.m.

The threat to the Fascist States in the form of economic encirclement in Europe and the attempt to destroy all German trade in the Americas which is not operated through the orthodox financial channels is undoubtedly precipitating the world war, while a more reasonable approach to economic and financial changes would immediately reduce the war tension.

The existing political parties are more and more losing themselves in the mirage of a war solution to the world's difficulties and it is up to people of all classes who remain sane to give full active support to the new movement. Members of the Peace Pledge Union or any other peace organization will be welcome at the meeting on the 28th, when they can assist to launch the campaign against war and usury.

THEODORE FAITHFULL.

Hon. Organizer of the ERP Conference.
London, W.1.

League of Prayer

As a member of the League of Prayer and Service I would like to express a point of view which I think may be useful.

It is not Mr. Elliott that we must thank for the idea of prayer, but Jesus Christ; we have, however, to express appreciation that Mr. Elliott has been able to organize 1½ million people to pray collectively.

Along the path which this communion follows we are led imperfectly to discover something of the way of Christ. This way is interpreted differently by individuals. To Mr. Elliott it may include the use of armaments; to Kagawa, pacifism; to Gandhi, passive resistance; but to Jesus it meant the way of the Cross.

I suggest that we do not look upon Mr. Elliott or any person as our ideal, but upon Jesus Christ. Mr. Elliott may be wrong, Jesus Christ never.

F. RUSSELL RALPHS.

50 Cobnar Road, Sheffield, 8.

For Nurses

There must be many of the nursing profession who are signatories of the peace pledge; but do they know each other, and is there any way at present of making contact?

Do they not agree that for the cause both of mutual benefit and of bearing witness within our profession they should link up in some way? Other professions have their registers at PPU headquarters and so may nurses if they wish it. I am ready to start such a register and then hand it over to headquarters.

Please send names and addresses and any other particulars as you will (such as college membership—the name of your club, &c.) to

(Miss) MARGERY CAVE.

East Lodge, Hastings Road, Bexhill-on-Sea, Sussex.

National Service

THERE has been a great deal of controversy as to what kind of "National Service" pacifists can undertake.

A group of pacifists in this district feels that it is not enough merely to do as little as possible in the present "National Service" campaign, but that what is needed is national service with a positive drive for peace.

We have come to the conclusion that a happy and prosperous nation is the best means of defence because it is in a better position to trade with other nations and so create good will and friendship between nations, and thus prevent war.

We have therefore decided as pacifists that our best means of national service is to improve the lot of our fellow countrymen and so demonstrate a constructive pacifism which we hope will attract new adherents.

We have formulated a scheme and we are beginning to carry it out in this district by cooperating in the campaign of the "National Old Age Pensions Association" to raise the old age pensions to £1 per week.

We believe that however small a beginning this may seem, it is a step in the right direction to help our own countrymen and those of other nations.

(Mrs.) DOROTHY R. PUGHE MORGAN.

Hafod, Churchfields, Broxbourne, Herts.

A "Warning"

A word of warning to those who share the view of your "Pacifist Commentary" (March 31) that the conscription campaign is confined to a vociferous few on the Right.

In its current issue the *Picture Post* which has hitherto made a show of Left sympathy, comes out with an extraordinary argument: "Statutory Citizen Service will put the slacker on a basis of equality with the patriot, and show the Germans that we are willing to do for freedom what they are doing for tyranny."

WALTER ROBERTS.

97 Grantchester Meadows, Cambridge.

These Crises

What hurts one more than anything in these ever recurring crises is that people are putting more energy into the question of defence than into the cause of peace.

My first question to an ARP warden would be: "What are you doing for peace?"

We must do all in our power to create friendships with the German people by visiting Germany this summer. We must pray daily for Neville Chamberlain, Adolf Hitler, Benito Mussolini, and especially the common people of the world. We must do all in our power to help refugees. All groups should spend some of their time waiting on God.

Each crisis tests us, and most of us are found wanting at that time.

JAMES THOMAS WILLIAMS.

Hilltop Nursery School, 16 Welch Road, N.W.6.

I AM interested to note Andrew Stewart's aggressive reaction to the pro-League conclusions of Durbin and Bowlby in their book *Personal Aggressiveness and War*.

Their conclusion that peace depends on "law backed by force," the superior force of an International Authority, comparable to a World Super-Ego, is, as your reviewer discerns, quite unpsychologically "common-place."

It ought to be known that the high-priest of the Freudian faith in England, Dr. Edward Glover, has no such illusions as to the real significance and value of the League of Nations. In his book *The Dangers of Being Human* he shows little mercy to the League, and indeed refers to it as providing "the latest excuse for war-like posturing."

I would recommend his chapter on the subject as an antidote to the Durbin and Bowlby analysis.

Nevertheless pacifists must realize that the aggressive impulses of human nature are essentially no more mischievous and just as ineradicable as other basic instincts. We have to find a sane outlet for our aggressive instincts in our personal lives and our political theories. Otherwise, as pacifists, we limit our usefulness, heap up unconscious sadism within ourselves, and entertain conceptions of human nature too narrow to fit the facts, to enable us to influence wide circles of opinion, or indeed, to guide us toward our pacifist goal at all.

ROBERT M. ENTWISTLE.

25 Stoneyfields Lane, Edgware, Middlesex.

"Mein Kampf"

A book which is being used to support the view that war is inevitable and pacifism foolish is Hitler's *Mein Kampf*. An unexpurgated edition of this famous political work has recently been published in English with the effect that speakers and lecturers can use it at will. Unfortunately it lends itself easily to abuse, and quotations are extracted to prove that no matter what policies may be adopted for the avoidance of war, they will be defeated in the end. Articles are published and booklets issued giving a summary of Hitler's *Gospel according to Mein Kampf*. This is a dangerous book and should be understood by all peace-lovers.

It was explained some time ago in a letter to *The Times* that *Mein Kampf* was written during the years of German humiliation and should be regarded as an abnormal production.

Hitler has written in terms of power politics. Like Machiavelli, he has learnt from observation of surrounding States, and a different experience would have produced different results. What Hitler has written down in *Mein Kampf* is the temporary crystallization of his thoughts concerning the relationships which do actually exist among States ringed with armaments and prepared to use them. To say that he intends to abide by any particular means of realizing the ambitions he nurses for Germany is to deprive him of freedom of action and to make several unjustified assumptions. Please consider the following observations:

1. It is impossible to read the mind of the Führer since he baffles his own henchmen.

2. He has himself admitted that the "vast empire in the East" which was "ripe for collapse" when he wrote *Mein Kampf* is now in fact very powerful. He would not attack Russia, he told Lord Londonderry, because she had 180,000,000 people, was territorially immune from attack, could not be overcome by blockade, and had her industrial centres deep inland. So my Communist friends inform me that Hitler will turn West to crush France.

3. The will of the Führer is not actually that of the German people, whose opposition is heightened by every sign of good will abroad.

REG. MOSS.

"Mayercroft," Park Lane, Audley, Stoke-on-Trent.

It is literally impossible to publish all the letters we receive.

Other things being equal, letters of not more than 200 words stand the best chance of publication.

C. E. M. Joad replies to Roy Walker:

"Sectionalism Will Land Us In Concentration Camps"

THE Editor has asked me to reply to Roy Walker's review of my book *Why War?*

The matters which Mr. Walker raises are not such as can be adequately discussed within the limits of a few hundred words, and I must content myself with a few very brief observations.

Mr. Walker surprises me by announcing that I have expounded the case for "materialist pacifism." I say that war is an offence against morals. I say that it is better for a nation to be poor and contented than to be great and glorious. I say that it is ethically wrong to be prepared to kill other people whom you have never seen at the orders of the State. I say that in wartime ideals are betrayed and replaced by anger, hatred, and desire for revenge.

Do these statements seem to Mr. Walker to savour of materialism?

What Is "Materialism"?

I am moved to wonder in what sense Mr. Walker can possibly be using this word—he does not, it is obvious, mean that my pacifism is made of or concerned with pieces of matter—and wish he would enlighten me. Admittedly, I say that I propose to judge, and proceed to condemn war by reference to its effects upon human happiness. But is it "materialist" to desire happiness for other people, especially when one's desire is qualified, as mine is, by the assertion that one does not think happiness to be the only thing that is valuable?

I cannot resist the temptation of asking Mr. Walker whether his charge of materialism does not derive from my inability to accept a supernatural basis for the Christian ethic, while accepting and honouring the Christian ethic itself, or deny myself the pleasure of suggesting that, in his view, materialism becomes nothing more nor less than a refusal to swallow Christianity whole; from which it appears to follow that to be a Buddhist, to be a follower of Lao Tse, or to seek to do right for its own sake is to be a materialist.

It is hard not to be allowed to write about pacifism without being drenched with cold water from the Christian parish pump.

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MR. WALKER falls foul of me for maintaining that an international government must, like a national government, be based upon force; but he mentions none of the reasons which lead me to this conclusion, nor does he gainsay them.

He contents himself with asking "What forces the Police Force?" I am tempted to reply "a lemon"—the thing sounds so like a riddle—but, if I am to take Mr. Walker's question seriously, I answer, the good sense of the vast mass of law-abiding citizens. It is not against these that force is required, but against the exceptional, anti-social, law-breaking citizen whose activities, if unchecked, would render the good life impossible for the law-abiding.

Non-Violent Resistance

Mr. Walker criticizes me for implying that non-violence "only commences at the moment of invasion." Of course it does; the fact that one happens to be living a "non-violent" (the phrase being here used in an entirely different sense) life before war comes, has no bearing one way or the other upon the particular issue I am raising, which is, what is the efficacy and what are the limits of non-violent resistance to violent action?

The relevance of Mr. Walker's complaint that the PPU is only mentioned in a footnote, I entirely fail to comprehend. Must the pleader of a cause pat upon the back all those who happen to agree with him, on pain of their displeasure if he does not?

TAKING the offensive, I should like to protest at the lack of perspective, the failure in sense of proportion, evidenced by Mr. Walker's review.

He and I are, I suppose, in agreement in regard to ninety percent of the political, social, and ethical questions that today divide mankind; in disagreement as regards the remaining ten percent. Moreover in regard to those matters on which we are agreed, the views which we hold in common are such as provoke the great majority of our fellow-countrymen to violent dissent.

So violent is this dissent that there is, to all intents and purposes, a press boycott of pacifism which now makes it impossible to obtain publicity for the views we hold in common. Go and talk to a meeting of twenty people on the subject of roller canaries and the local press will report you; go and talk to a meeting of 200 or even 2,000 on pacifism in relation to the existing situation, and no newspaper will think the fact worth mentioning.

Unity Is Strength

If I publish at 10s. 6d. a book on philosophy, which few will read and fewer will buy, many papers will do me the honour of

a review; but when I publish a 6d. book advocating pacifism, which has sold between forty and fifty thousand copies in little over a week, no editor will permit it to be reviewed for fear of giving publicity to the views advocated—no editor, that is to say, except the editor of a pacifist paper—in this case, of *Peace News*.

And the reviewer in *Peace News*, instead of saying in effect, "Here is a book which, in spite of its manifest imperfections, preaches a creed which I and this paper profess, and in a world bemused by false doctrine gives expression to views which I and this paper believe to be not only true but vitally important," concentrates on ideological differences which are equally remote from common interests and practical politics.

It is as if one were to say to a man, "Yes, the night is dark, the way long, the journey difficult and dangerous and our enemies many. Now it so happens, however, that I am travelling the same way as you; I know that unity is strength, and I agree that we shall travel more safely and be more likely to arrive at our destination, if we travel together; but I cannot possibly make the journey in your company because I don't like the colour of your eyes."

It is precisely this kind of sectionalism that has dogged the pacifist movement in the past, dogs it in the present, and will continue to dog it in the future, until it has landed us all in concentration camps, where Mr. Walker and I will no doubt have abundant leisure for the discussion of doctrinal differences—and a fat lot of use either we or our discussions will be to ourselves or to anybody else!

To "Stop Aggression": BOYCOTT OR WAR?

IT is just those people who have striven after peace all their lives, who lived through the horror of the World War and protested against the wickedness of the imposed peace of Versailles, who in the years that followed proclaimed "Never again," in season and out of season from whatever platform was offered them, to all who would listen, and who tried to make sure that the last war should really be "the war that ended war," it was just those people who saw themselves forced to think out some alternative, and the alternative as they see it is the boycott of the aggressors.

Those who read *Mein Kampf* in the original when first it was published, who went to Germany and made a point of discovering for themselves the conditions there, who attended National-Socialist meetings, realized what was happening, realized that German youth was bound to be carried away by the National-Socialist propaganda and hence to enrol in the ranks of the followers of the Führer.

Despair of German Youth

GERMAN youth was in despair, deprived of all hope, without any prospect of a career in army, navy or air force, no opening for them in colonial service—and some six million unemployed! Writhing under the ignominy of the war-guilt lie, was it any wonder they hailed the man who promised them a new heaven and a new earth, a job for every man, a husband for every woman, a resurrected Germany that was to dominate the world?

And *Mein Kampf* described in detail how this was to be accomplished, and those who read carefully knew that such tactics could only mean war, a far more terrible and devastating war than the world had ever known.

Well then, how could this be prevented? To carry out her plans, Germany must have armaments, must be able to supply

her own needs, have a sufficiency of food-stuffs, of coal and of oil. For this a nation must be sure of at least 34 raw materials. Of these 34, Germany has ample supplies of two: coal and potash. She has small quantities of six others; the remaining 26 she can acquire only by purchase.

Dependence on Exports

IN order to buy, you must be able to sell. Hitler has told us repeatedly that "Germany must export or die." She must either exchange what she herself produces or manufactures for the things she requires, that is by direct barter—a system she has very cleverly developed—or she must sell to receive the foreign money, which can still be used as current coin, money which has sterling value.

No coin is allowed to leave Germany; she has not got the gold she requires. For several years now her gold cover has been no more than one percent.

During the last year, American statistics tell us, Germany has lost trade to the value of nearly a billion marks. Her public debt rose from twelve billion marks in 1932 to sixty billion in 1938 and she herself has declared that her public debt rose by nearly nine billion in barely nine months.

So great is her need for foreign coinage that she has not only resorted to forced labour—for what else is the work in the labour camps?—in order to reduce cost of production, but she is willing to pay a 33½ percent subsidy on all her exports.

While Others Buy

SO long as other nations will buy German goods, so long Germany can go on with her armament building, until she has really built up an army, a navy, an air force greater and more powerful than that possessed by any combination of opposing forces. Then she will be in a position to launch that world war which will put an end to civilization.

So long as Hitler can make the German

United Christian Peace Petition Progress

FOLLOWING an article in *Peace News* recently by Mr. Robert Scrutton, who outlined the general aims and activities of the United Christian Petition Movement, readers of *Peace News* in all parts of the British Empire, and also from the USA, have written to the national headquarters of the UCPM asking for further information, and welcoming the opportunity offered by this movement to unite all people of good will in a great effort to secure a lasting peace and to abolish poverty.

The basis of the UCPM, which was founded by Mr. Scrutton, is that war is the result of poverty; that the individual poverty within a country compels industrialists to clamour one against another for customers overseas and forces them to dump abroad goods their own workers need; and that at the same time such action thrusts out of work the foreign producer whom the exporter was hoping would be his customer.

AN UNFORGETTABLE DAY

When the United Christian Petition was launched in Coventry 93 percent of the electorate signed it.

And now London is engaged in following Coventry's example. It became necessary for the organizers to open a London office: 1 Esmond Court, Kensington Square, W.8. (Telephone Western 2430) and from those headquarters administration of the petition movement is already taking shape in many London Boroughs.

Already thirty preliminary meetings have been held and four newspapers have promised to publish articles on the petition campaign.

In Barnsley, Birmingham, Harrogate, Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle, Oxford and Sunderland the campaign is alive.

A Pacifist Reply

to the case stated in the following article by Miss Gertrude Lieken, Hon. Secretary of the League for the Boycott of Aggressor Nations, will appear next week.

nation believe that he really is the master of Europe, that he can carry out his threats, so long will he maintain his hold over the German people.

But when the day comes that more and more people realize that he cannot fulfil his promises, that, far from Germany becoming great and prosperous, their country lacks the commonest needs, that their standard of life is lower than that of any other European nation, their wages less, their hours longer, then doubt will creep into their hearts, then they will begin to realize that their idol has feet of clay, then the wicked régime will be shaken, and the world may be brought back to sanity and decency.

True, not only the evil-doers will suffer by the boycott of Germany; the good, peace-loving German people are bound to suffer too. But will their sufferings be greater or less than if they are involved once more in war? The League for the Boycott of Aggressor Nations answers unhesitatingly, less, far less.

Case for a Boycott

THE results of another war are too horrible to contemplate; another war means the end of civilization as we know it. The effects of a boycott will be unpleasant but mild in comparison, and certainly limited and temporary and finally far more effective.

Even now the foreign coinage they receive from the sale of their tainted goods to other nations is not being used to alleviate the hard lot of the German people, to buy butter and apples and oranges and good warm clothes, but is going solely to enlarge their arms factories and stimulate their production of weapons.

It is because we so sincerely wish to prevent another war that we use all our efforts to persuade people of the efficacy of the boycott. We advocate it because we believe this policy to be preventive and not punitive.

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THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example. Give your pledge on a postcard:—

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to The Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

APRIL 21, 1939.

The Editor's Point of View

"Peoples' Crusade"

It is a thousand pities that Mr. Roosevelt chose the psychologically wrong attitude and, in one sense at least, the psychologically wrong moment for what must otherwise be welcomed as a magnificent effort to break the vicious circle of fear and mistrust. We print on page one of this issue the message to the dictators as a pacifist President might have written it—judging at any rate by the attitude of the Annual General Meeting of the Peace Pledge Union.

What is fundamentally wrong about the attitude is its treatment of two countries as the breakers, and the rest of the world as the upholders, of some law against the use of force in international dealings. In actual fact, whether we like it or not, no such law yet governs international dealings. It is practically left to the scorned pacifist to plead that it should!

Any appeal to it as a moral obligation can only be honestly or fairly made from a moral position. Such a position must surely at least include a renunciation of the use of force and the consequent cessation of all military or other war preparations. What it cannot possibly include is either the retention of possessions by force, the blocking by force of other peoples' progress, or even an unrepented past full of the acquisition of possessions by force.

The fact that neither the United States nor those countries which, like our own, have so readily adopted President Roosevelt's attitude stand in that position of moral authority or have any authority in international law gives Herr Hitler the very opportunity that a real peace move must avoid if it is to be successful. For it aids very considerably the possibility of war in that it enables him to strengthen the conviction among his own people—already firmly built upon the British policy of encircling alliances—that it is the democracies that are the mischief-making countries, while other forms of propaganda present himself to them as the peacemaker. Nor is the atmosphere improved by reports in such responsible papers as *The Times* that "Whitehall's" view was "that Mr. Roosevelt had made it plain that American opinion would know whose fault it was if general war should come."

It might have been added that American opinion—perhaps the most difficult to win over—would consequently more readily accept war. For that seems to be the devil's game that is now being played—what *The Times* calls, in so many words, "a peoples' crusade." And naturally; for it is still true that the common peoples of the world not only do not want war but feel strongly enough about it to be the chief obstacle to it.

It is not that their leaders want war either, but that they belong to the old order that still sees it as a less evil (at any rate to them) than the substitution of a new order of cooperation that might not find them in the positions of privilege which they now occupy or that in any case calls for at least as much courage and strength (of a different kind), and nearly as much risk as war entails. Nor do the peoples who are so reluctant to accept war yet feel strongly or positively enough to demand and themselves bring in the new order. But while they still have to be dragged to war there is every hope for the peacemaker.

It would, of course, have been easier years ago to "win this generation for peace—for real peace," to quote one of Germany's own tragic statesmen. That is the sense in which Roosevelt's initiative has come at the psychologically wrong moment. Eighteen years ago the German pacifist movement was actually larger than the British.

But even today large numbers of young men are in prison because they refuse to defend their countries by the suicidal method of war, which our Government has so readily offered to aid them in by its new policy of alliances. *The Times* claims that that policy has been accepted by our people "without a murmur of dissent." If pacifists want "something to do," let them get on with the job of disproving that claim by a real peoples' crusade, stopping only to consider the effectiveness of others (rather than on their own emotions) of their several methods.

Humphrey S. Moore

COMMUNITY OR NATION?

By HAROLD F. BING

THE dilemma in which many pacifists apparently find themselves when confronted with the demand for "national service" is due very largely to a loose use of words which confuses the real issue.

They recognize that they owe much to the community in which they have been brought up; that their lives are richer and fuller than if they had been born in a primitive society in which social and cultural agencies hardly existed. They feel, quite rightly, that the acceptance of these benefits from society involves a moral obligation to render service in return. And to refuse the service which is at present being demanded of them seems to imply a selfish unwillingness to give where they have received.

Now pacifists are not as a rule selfish individuals, and hence the efforts which many are making to find some form of "national service" which they can undertake and the qualms of conscience of many who feel intuitively that this is not the service they ought to render but at the same time cannot discover a logical reason for refusing it.

A- Confusion

THE difficulty arises, I think, from the tendency to confuse Society with the National State, a rather natural confusion because of the growth in importance of the National State in modern times and its tendency to exercise an increasing control over many sides of the life of the community.

But do we really owe our social and cultural heritage to the National State? A little examination shows that we do not; that in fact some of those blessings for which we are occasionally told that we ought to be willing to fight have been won in spite of the National State and as the result of a long non-violent struggle by our forefathers against the National State.

Religious freedom in this country is an obvious example. It has been won by men and women, individuals and religious societies, who were willing to face imprisonment and death rather than conform to the religious practices and doctrines which the National State sought to impose on all.

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ACTUALLY, society is not unitary but complex. Our obligations are not to one community, but to a variety of communities.

Our upbringing and nurture we owe to the family, our social education to school or village or other small unit. Our cultural education we owe to the whole tradition of Western culture which knows no limit of national frontier; which includes Socrates the Greek, and Dante the Italian, Shakespeare the Englishman, and Tolstoy the Russian, Goethe the German and Copernicus the Pole.

Art and science which together are the influences that have given us a society worth calling civilized are not the gifts of the National State. And what of religion? Do we owe that to the National State? Have we no obligations to the religious communities of which we are members? Even our economic status and the improved conditions of work we may enjoy are much more likely to be the result of the efforts of trade unions or professional associations, which very likely have had to fight against the National State for their right to exist.

"But what of all the modern social services: health and housing, baths and parks and sanitation?" someone will ask. Again, these often depend primarily upon the activity of local authorities, Urban and Rural District Councils, Town and County Councils, even though these bodies may receive financial assistance from the State. And that financial assistance is not something which the National State altruistically provides from a fund of its own. It is merely the small portion that it gives back from the large sums forcibly extracted from the taxpayer, after paying for its own huge administrative machinery and army of officials and its chief form of expenditure, namely, war preparation.

What Is The State?

THE more we examine the question the more we realize that we are members of a large number of communities from all of which we derive benefits and to all of which, therefore, we have obligations.

The National State is only one of these. It is a comparatively recent growth. The family, the village, the school, the Church, the trade association, the general community of culture flourished before the National State was born, and to most of them we all owe more tangible benefits than we owe to the National State.

What is the National State? The more we try to define it, the more it eludes definition. Neither community of language, nor race, nor religion, nor historical tradition determine one's membership of a State.

A State may exist today and be gone tomorrow, as

recent events have shown. It may change its frontiers and its form without consulting its inhabitants and yet, so long as it exists it claims and exercises the right of taxing and coercing all those who come within its sphere, even to the extent of taking life and compelling the taking of life—to a degree unparalleled by any of the other social groups.

Why is it that Abyssinia, until recently, was recognized as a National State with a right to representation in the League of Nations, while California is not? Because, as H. G. Wells expresses it, "a nation is any assembly, mixture or confusion of people which is either afflicted by or wishes to be afflicted by a foreign office of its own in order that it should behave collectively as if its needs, desires or varieties were beyond comparison, more important than the general welfare of humanity."

This definition may at first sound cynical, but the closer it is examined the truer it appears. For what is the characteristic function of the National State? It is that of making war. California has not the right to make war; therefore it is not a National State. Abyssinia had that right. All other social groups have given up the right to enforce their wishes by the method of armed violence. The State alone maintains this futile procedure, and not only maintains it but goes on increasing

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IF we wish to know to what an individual or society attaches most importance, we ask to what he or it devotes the greater part of its energy or resources.

When we ask this question of the National State, there is not the slightest doubt, in most cases, that warfare is its main function. This is confirmed by the pre-eminent position given to those concerned with the processes of war, whether on the diplomatic or "service" sides, in all State functions and by the fact that the head of the State wears a war uniform on State occasions.

The necessities of modern war are so far-reaching that if it is to meet them, the State needs to take up an ever larger and larger share of the time, energy and wealth of its citizens. This it may do either by making direct demands upon them, which will restrict the services they are able to render to the other social groups to which they belong, or else by bringing all other social functions, economic, cultural, religious, &c., under its control and subordinating them to its war purposes.

The former is the way of the so-called democratic States; the latter the way of the Totalitarian States. The object is the same. There may be a difference in the degree of efficiency.

National Service—For War

IF one looks through the list of "national services" in the Government's Handbook, it is clear that their sole purpose is preparation for war.

Indeed the majority of them would have no use whatsoever apart from war, and the Prime Minister has declared that the object of "National Service" is to fit us for war.

Any one of us could name a dozen urgently needed services which are crying out for labourers and would vastly increase the real wealth and happiness of the community, e.g., re-housing, playing fields, drainage, afforestation, community centres, allotments, &c., but not one of these finds any place in the Government's scheme. The reason is that these things have no direct bearing on war preparation, which is the primary concern of the National State.

Let us, therefore, be perfectly clear that loyalty to the community and the fulfilment of social obligations are not the same thing as loyalty to the National State; that indeed the increasing claims of the latter are becoming more and more incompatible with the former.

★

THERE are plenty of fields of community service open to all who seek them without touching the war preparation services.

No doubt many whose social conscience has hitherto been asleep are finding much satisfaction in the new opportunities of service now being offered them. But they should beware of claiming a superiority over those who for years have been quietly engaged in other avenues of service without making a fuss about it.

So-called "National Service" has no special merit as against other services. Who is to say that the voluntary worker caring for the welfare of babies in a slum is not rendering as great a service to the community as the one who is learning how to instruct his neighbours in the fitting of gas masks or the erection of steel shelters?

At any rate it is clear that while nations can certainly flourish in peace no nation can live by war alone. History tells us of the fate of nations which tried to do so, such as Assyria and Sparta. Modern nations seem to be emulating their example. Unless the worship of the National State is destroyed, our civilization is doomed.

A.G.M. Hears Call for £100,000 Campaign and Volunteers Prepared to Sacrifice All

Without Comment

IN connexion with the King's visit last Friday to the RAF camp at Halton, the London Star reported: "The chapel of the camp, which is built into one of the workshops, was next visited and the King was shown the lectern which was built in the workshops of the camp. "It is shaped like a globe and surmounted with a Bristol fighter plane. On the upper wings of the plane rests the Bible."

REFUGEE CHILDREN: Government Aid Asked

A RESOLUTION that the Government be urged to undertake the financial obligation of re-emigration of all refugee children who are given hospitality and training in this country up to the age of eighteen, thus releasing part of the Lord Baldwin Fund for providing maintenance and training of refugee children and accelerating their emigration from Germany, was adopted at a conference in Oxford recently of local and national refugee organizations.

The following other criticisms of methods of dealing with refugee children also received much support:

1. The demand that in future a deposit of £50 must be made by the guarantor of a child over the age of twelve, as a reserve out of which the cost of its re-emigration will be met, has seriously affected the willingness of people to offer homes to children.
2. The nature of a guarantee is ill defined. Guarantors are not certain, since no definite sum is specified in the guarantee form they are asked to sign, what is the maximum sum they might be called upon to pay and with whom rests the responsibility for arranging the child's emigration.
3. Committees are not given adequate notice of the arrival of the child.
4. Many education committees take too rigid a view of the educational requirements necessary for admission to secondary schools. (A resolution on this matter was passed by the conference to be forwarded to the Council of the Movement for the Care of Children from Germany.)

REASON FOR £50 DEPOSIT

Major Langdon, speaking on behalf of the World Movement for the Care of Children from Germany, explained that, unless the Movement was to be guilty of a serious breach of faith, it had to create large reserves to meet undetermined expenditure. It was for this reason, he said, that it had become necessary to ask for a £50 deposit before agreeing to evacuate a "guaranteed" child.

The Movement, he said, was responsible for making arrangements for eventual re-emigration; the guarantor's responsibility ceased with the payment of the £50. Should the child not be emigrated, the £50 deposit would be returned to the guarantor.

As to the third criticism quoted above, Major Langdon said that the Movement was unable to give adequate notice of the arrival of children as the German authorities refused to give advance information of the movement of children.

Dick Sheppard House Opened

DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE, the new headquarters of the Peace Pledge Union at 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1, was formally opened on Saturday afternoon.

Miss Margaret Sheppard performed the opening ceremony, and Laurence Housman made a delightful speech from the balcony to PPU members gathered in the street below.

Owing to extreme pressure on space Mr. Housman's speech could not be included in this issue. It will appear in full next week.

See "Be a Brick!"—Page 10.

Next Week

Wilfred Wellock
will discuss
THE BUDGET

DELEGATES FROM ALL PARTS OF BRITAIN REAFFIRM THEIR RENUNCIATION OF WAR

A N emergency resolution on the international situation and a plan for a £100,000 nation-wide campaign were the highlights of the second annual general meeting of the Peace Pledge Union, held in Friends House, London, last weekend.

"In view of the critical situation which has arisen in international relations," declared the resolution, "the members of the PPU assembled for their annual general meeting reaffirm their unalterable conviction that no solution of the differences between nations, however serious, can possibly be reached by the method of warfare, which even the present circumstances cannot justify."

It was agreed that this statement should be sent to the Press.

The resolution also provided for the rearrangement of the agenda to allow for discussion of immediate policy at the first session of the AGM.

Opening the discussion on policy, **Lord Ponsonby** urged the need for an emphatic declaration of the PPU position, saying that he had noticed that recently all the old cries had been returning. "We should remain determined," he added, "that we are not going to yield one inch."

A Thousand Volunteers

The plan for a nation-wide campaign was put forward by **Kenneth Wray**, of Hastings, who maintained that the peace movement had failed to give any lead to the general public.

He asked for £100,000 and 1,000 volunteers who were prepared to sacrifice everything for peace. The movement must focus public attention on itself, he said; then it must start a propaganda and recruiting campaign.

The volunteers, he suggested, should go to Westminster and demonstrate non-violent resistance. There might also be marches through the country, from London. The propaganda, he thought, need not be based on pure pacifism.

He urged a direct appeal to the dictators, telling them of the efforts to prevent a war situation, and asking them for one word of encouragement. On the question of finance Mr. Wray said he had received a promise of £1,000 if £50,000 were raised.

Richard Bishop (Wales) speaking in support of the scheme, said he thought the time had come for the most drastic action. He believed they had to do something such as Mr. Wray had envisaged, or forfeit our right to exist.

Allen Skinner said that just as, in the international sphere, other Powers reacted to the initiative of the fascist Powers, so the pacifist movement was reacting to an initiative elsewhere.

Imperialism the Basic Problem

We had to translate our negative policy into a positive one. He thought there was general agreement that the present situation arose from the struggle between conflicting imperialisms.

It should not be our object to support such moves as the Van Zeeland Report, which assumed a continuance of imperialism. Rather should we prepare public opinion for a repudiation of imperialism.

Winifred Rawlins wanted to get beyond the idea that non-violent resistance and propaganda should be our focal point. We could not compete with the authorities' propaganda.

Pacifists, she urged, should prove their readiness to suffer voluntarily now. This might take the form of civil disobedience or a gesture toward those who might become our enemies.

James Norbury (Manchester) declared that in the main pacifists were vague idealists, with no practical alternative to war. Their fight, he said, was against a system and not against individuals.

Pacifism was at the testing-time of its existence, said **Ben Greene**. Another crisis was approaching and pacifists did not seem able to rally peace opinion. They ought to broaden their minds and organization.

"We should get into touch with every other body which opposes war and our present policy," he urged. "We have got to realize we are living under a dictatorship of vested interests which manipulates our democracy."

James A. Joyce maintained that the PPU had changed from a negative body into a positive one. It was the only body which could stop the next war, if any could do that. It had to be ahead of events.

He thought that the PPU could, with very little delay, set out the implications of the pledge with a very large measure of agreement. Thousands of people were waiting to join a constructive body which knew what it wanted.

He moved that a committee of action be constituted to present proposals for a constructive peace campaign along the lines of Mr. Wray's proposals and present them to the conference.

David Speckley called for the drawing up of a detailed policy of "What we say Britain should do now." Kenneth Wray's plan, he thought, should be only one part of a peace campaign. Even then there would be scope for members to continue with their ordinary jobs and to give expression to their pacifism while doing so.

After **Stephen Usherwood** (Surrey) had stressed the need for creating "mental calm," **Harold Bing** said that everything depended on the kind of lead that was given.

New Social System Needed

Though there was much to be said for dramatic propaganda, there was danger that this might be the result of a feeling of inferiority. Pacifists should realize that they could not put their international policy into action without a new social system at home.

The present crisis would not be the last; others would occur until the present system was ended.

Sybil Morrison (Blackheath) asked members to remember that the movement was still a pioneer one, and **William Lyon** (Gatley) thought finance was the crux of the problem.

Sidney Conbeer (Birmingham) wanted the PPU to experiment with the method of non-violent resistance—and not only in London. Hitherto they had not captured people's imagination.

Nigel Spottiswoode thought the core of the trouble was that some had been trying to conserve their forces too much.

"If we are going to be of any value we have got to go all out now," he said, and urged that Mr. Wray be elected leader of the PPU, as he was the proposer of the only plan that had been put before them.

John Glover (Scottish National Council) declared that war resistance was only incidental to pacifism. Pacifism was a whole philosophy of life.

Geoffrey Pickup (Sheffield) thought the discussion showed that members could not make decisions for anyone but themselves.

He suggested that Mr. Wray be given every facility to make known his proposals, similar facilities being granted to others, and that by the measure of support they received it would be known how far they were in accord with what members wanted to do. He declared that such facilities had been denied in the past by *Peace News*.

Terence Lancaster (Salisbury) suggested that in the absence of further constructive proposals, Kenneth Wray should submit his plans in detail at the next session.

After **J. R. Warren** (Redruth) had urged that provision should be made for dependents in any scheme that might be adopted, **Wilfred Wellock** attempted what he called "the impossible task" of summing up.

Plan to be Considered

After declaring himself all in favour of the £100,000 and 1,000 volunteers who would sacrifice everything, he said he was also concerned about those who would not give everything but must also come into the picture. He pointed to the need for a deeper sense of personal responsibility which would enable the PPU to realize its total effectiveness.

He asked what was the piece of propaganda which Kenneth Wray intended to "get across." As for the intended approach to Hitler, what would they say to him? Mr. Lansbury had gone to Hitler with an "if"; next time it would be necessary to say

definitely, "We are going to abandon imperialism."

Pacifists had to prepare public opinion in this country to give up imperialism as the price of world peace. The need was not merely for individual sacrifice, but for national sacrifice.

He advised that pacifist propaganda should emphasize (1) the necessity of war resistance, (2) the nature of modern war, and (3) the conditions necessary for world peace, the greatest stress being laid on the positive part of the programme.

It was finally decided—by the adoption of an amendment to Mr. Joyce's resolution—that Mr. Wray's proposals be submitted to a meeting of the Sponsors, at which area representatives would be present on Sunday morning.

At the final session on Sunday afternoon Stuart Morris explained that other urgent business had prevented full consideration of Mr. Wray's plans, and after discussion it was decided that those interested in his proposals should remain after the close of the AGM to appoint a committee to examine the proposals.

The committee, of which Mr. Wray was to be convener, was to report as soon as possible to whatever body was the executive of the PPU at the time.

Commonsense in the House of Lords

(Continued from page 1)

is to continue the gallant policy of discussion and conciliation inaugurated by the Prime Minister last September, in spite of the fact that everybody thinks that, because it has failed, or apparently failed, once, it is of no use trying it again.

I think that that policy has suffered from the use of the word "appeasement," which implies giving up something for the cause of peace, whereas the principle should consist of the statement by all parties equally with the idea of dispersing grievances by discussion.

Method of Discussion

Let us take a simple analogy from human life. If human beings or groups of human beings have a quarrel, they know perfectly well that until they meet and talk it over there can be no way of finding the real cause of the trouble, which may perhaps be buried long in the past, nor of dispersing the ill feelings.

That is usually considered the best way of settling a quarrel, far better than blows or expensive litigation. Is it not the same with nations? This crisis, like other crises, is not the result of a few weeks or even months. They owe their origin to old sores, which are buried in the past, perhaps ten years, or even fifty years old, together with their children, jealousy, fear, resentment and repression, which are well known to the parents of aggression.

Until nations come together in a proper spirit of give and take, these old sores cannot be uncovered and healed, nor can the causes of unfriendliness and grievances be ventilated and dispersed.

Value of Personal Element

But whatever happens at the conference table, if the nations do meet together it is absolutely certain that much can be done to allay these ill-feelings, because there is a personal element introduced when the heads of nations come and discuss matters with their enemies, the heads of other nations, and the position must be bettered for the future.

The present position must make matters worse. Every day there are daily hatreds blared in the newspapers and on the wireless. There are daily statements of grievances, daily defiance, daily statements of increased armaments. These go on increasing until at last the feelings of the nations get inflamed to bursting point, and common or garden citizens who have no wish except to live at peace with others have their minds hardened and the hair trigger is set.

"Not Idealism"

The policy I am advocating is not a policy of pacifism or idealism, nor is it a vision of Utopia.

Heaven knows there are plenty of problems in the human machine to be solved in peace time. But I do claim that it would be a wonderful thing for England to do, today, to continue this policy to put aside her own fears and grievances, to disregard entirely the differences and dangers and apparent futility, because of an ardent desire for the betterment of the lot not only of our own people, but of all the men, women and children of the civilized world—to persevere until success comes, for come it would, because the policy would have behind it the whole weight of Christianity, which, whether believed in or not, is acknowledged to be the finest set of rules for the guidance of human conduct.

BOOKS

STORM OVER FREEDOM

By JOHN BOYLAN

Civil Journey, by Storm Jameson. (Cassell and Co.), 7s. 6d.

MISS STORM JAMESON is a sub-acid commentator on the contemporary European scene. If she has few illusions, however, she is at any rate rich in aspirations.

Had Calvin Coolidge, that unconscious master of understatement, read this book, he would have unreservedly declared that the author was against war, poverty, fascist dictatorships, and the general trend of contemporary fiction. As a fact, when Miss Jameson registers indignation against the cruelty and insanity masquerading throughout Europe today under the auspices of patriotism, she does it with the resounding thunder of a Danton.

She is a master of invective. And if she wields the bludgeon rather than the rapier, that is all to the good, for never have heads been so thick as in this swashbuckling era of gasmasked humanity with its bawling dictators, pinch-beck Napoleons and umbrella-conscious pseudo-pacifists.

If Miss Jameson sounds pessimistic at times, God knows her pessimism has been well justified by the sequence of events since the writing of her indictment. Not that she is in any sense a defeatist. Rather is she a realist, fighting with her eyes open to the ultimate issues, her head withdrawn from the clouds.

SOCIAL CRITICISM

IN the present volume, literary criticism disputes pride of place with social criticism but I think on the whole that the latter wins, for the author's passion for social justice invades even the least polemical of these papers. (Why, by the way, didn't Miss Jameson include here her "Letter to a Labour Party Official," too valuable a contribution to the political controversy to remain interred in the pages of *The Left Review*?)

In my own judgment, she (perhaps naturally in a working novelist) tends to overestimate the importance of the novel's influence in the general scheme of things.

Such essays as "The Craft of the Novelist," "The Novel in Contemporary Life," "The Decline of Fiction," "The Novel and Novelists," and so on, have a merely technical interest that will only remotely concern the bulk of her readers whose living is obtained by more arduous endeavours than the turning out of words at so many shekels a thousand, absorbedly interesting though they may be to literary technicians, budding geniuses and Bloomsburyites in general.

At the same time, she says a few things in these literary essays that badly wanted saying, and certainly her fears for the future of literature are not exaggerated. Miss Jameson knows that the republic of letters is no more immune from the rape of fascism than was Czecho-Slovakia, Austria, or Spain.

CASTIGATES CONTEMPORARIES

She justly castigates her contemporaries for their easy acceptance of cheap values, their belittling of intellect, and their bland disregard of the dangers threatening the free promulgation of ideas. To the bitter end, she insists, the artist must be prepared to stand out for absolute freedom of expression, must fight for it with his back to the wall defying all dictatorships whether they be of the Left or of the Right.

Much of this part of her message will fall on deaf ears. If the half dozen of our novelists who matter were read by a fraction of the people who seem to matter, or even circulated moderately among the millions who, like myself, don't matter, then it might be quite a different pair of shoes.

But it is notorious that the pretensions to literary informativeness (to give the word "culture" a miss) of all but a mere handful of our rulers and masters (including our Royal Family) are absolutely nil. The Civil List pension fund tells its own tale.

And as for those who minister culturally to *hoi polloi*—our Beaverbrooks and

Rothermeres—well, by their serials ye shall know 'em. As Rebecca West notes in *The Strange Necessity*: "It was Lady Oxford and not Vernon Lee or T. S. Eliot or Virginia Woolf who wrote to *The Times* registering ecstasy concerning the hero of *If Winter Comes*."

"SPOKESMAN OF A GENERATION"

HOWEVER, the cream of the book remains, and by the cream I mean those papers entitled "The Twilight of Reason," "The Defence of Freedom," "The Youngest Brother," "Patriotism," "In the End," and the piece of autobiography that marks the terminus of her *Civil Journey*.

These go far to justify her publisher's description of Miss Jameson as "the spokesman of a whole generation."

"The lasting obsession of my life since the war—the fear of another . . . The fear that another will kill my son as brutally and uselessly as the last killed my brother in his nineteenth year."

Waste!

She gives voice to the fear shared by every woman in every land beneath the sun—the fear that makes every woman in every land kin! Surely to God it should require no burning eloquence to bring that within reach of the heart's understanding? Nor, do I believe, does it.

It is human heads not human hearts that are at fault. It is human stupidity that must be combated—the delusions of grandeur of a Hitler, the ego-mania of a Mussolini, the Napoleonic daydreams of our own Churchills and Mosleys: a cancer on the brain of humanity which surely can be cured without decapitating the patient.

For a sample of Miss Jameson's quality, let me quote the following:

"Let us say: 'Our enemies are not the men and women of other countries. They are ourselves.' They are elderly professors to whom war is a theme; they are newspaper proprietors who have so few wits or so withered a conscience that they persist in bawling that we should abandon the hope of advancing beyond international anarchy and save ourselves by building more aeroplanes than all the other nations who are building more aeroplanes than all the other nations; they are the interested persons who make instruments of war and sell them, with a happy impartiality, to every country which can pay for them; they are the 'realists' who accept a disorder which exists; they are the romantically-minded who imagine that war is still, after the invention of poison gas and the rest, what

they call 'practical'; they are writers in whom it induces a flow of pseudo-mysticism; they are women who commit the indecency of assenting to wars which others will fight; they are all of us in those moments when, losing faith, we think of war as something other than it is—the blasphemous betrayal of the future of man."

That is well said.

More than half a century ago, Elizabeth Barrett Browning tried to arouse the social conscience on behalf of the children of her day—the era of child-slavery in factory and mill—by writing a poem beginning: "Have ye heard the children crying, O my brothers?" She called it "The Cry of the Children."

Apparently that cry was only imperfectly heard, since Miss Jameson is impelled to write today:

"There are in this country too many unfortunate children, undernourished, shoddily clothed, living in dirt. At an age when other children are playing games and passing to another stage in their education these have begun some employment which, if a gently-nourished boy or girl were set to it, you would think unchildlike. How is it possible to love one's country and not feel bitterly ashamed of the familiar cruelty which gives to one child the most exquisite care and to another, no less sensitive or intelligent, squalor, poor insufficient food, and early toil? All the reasons by which we account for this piece of savagery do not excuse it.

"There is no excuse. If the best milk, clean air, daily baths, warmth are thought necessary for any child they are necessities for all. To rob even one child of what is necessary to his growth is considered detestable, except if the child should be too poor to be worth the trouble. There may be, there are, reasons why many children's lives are poisoned at their birth—by their crime of being born to women without money. But there is no excuse. It sometimes seems that complacency is the only sin. Certainly it is the meanest. . . . The will to see England rebuilt, her every child happy, well reared, faithfully and wisely bred, is the only degree of patriotism I understand."

LOVED GERMANY

Those stages of Miss Jameson's *Civil Journey* in which Germany is featured have a pathetic interest of their own. She knew and loved Germany well, had formed staunch friendships there. But that Germany no longer exists. Neither do many of the friends.

Those who are still among the living, those fortunate enough to have escaped the concentration camps, know what it is to be homeless in every land—the tragedy of the refugee. There are few harder lots than poverty, perpetual exile, and heart-breaking memories inextricably combined. This section of the book makes poignant reading.

An Old, Old Story

Why We are Losing the Peace. By K. Ziliacus ("Vigilantes"). Gollancz, 3s. 6d.

THIS book may already be out of date from its author's point of view. Pleas for collective security against fascism seem a little unnecessary when the division of Europe into two opposing camps is proceeding fast enough to make Mars lick his lips in anticipation.

Mr. Ziliacus repeats the tale told already—oh, how many hundred times?—by himself and others; he gives us the background, record, and consequences of the National Government's foreign policy; he tells us why it has failed and propounds the way to salvation through a Popular Front, a square deal for colonial populations, a joint effort with all "peace-loving" States to restore the collective system.

The one hopeful sign is that he wants this cooperation also "to establish a *modus vivendi* with the fascist régimes on more stable and less uncivilized foundations than imperialism." I have not had the benefit of education in Latin, but if *modus vivendi* has anything to do with living together with the fascist States, I fail to see how that object can be achieved through the adoption of a policy which also calls for a "minimum standard of death."

The Opposition, says Mr. Ziliacus, should tell the Government:

"We consider that it is the duty of a democratic State to secure a minimum standard of death in foreign policy and that the common people have the right to back their demand for such a standard by withholding their lives."

"A minimum standard of death in foreign policy means a policy that gives us a reasonable prospect of victory if war comes and a reason-

able probability that victory will be used in the interests of democracy and civilization and not tragically abused as it was after the last war."

"Minimum standard of death" is good—it is at least brutally frank—but the second sentence I have quoted contains a contradiction: "victory" will mean nothing after another European war, and the "interests of democracy and civilization" can only be served in the present situation by a renunciation of war altogether. This, indeed, is the only basis on which the *modus vivendi* with the fascist régimes is likely to be achieved.

The proposal for war resistance until we have got our "minimum standard of death" is, according to Mr. Ziliacus, a means of applying the principles of democracy to the issue of defence. He sees that modern war is totalitarian; he sees the consequent danger that fascism will come to Britain through the National Government's war preparations. But he shirks the issue by not admitting that modern war is therefore the enemy of democracy.

Mr. Ziliacus wants us to deny "the unconditional right of the Government to commit us to war or to exercise totalitarian powers over us for the sake of war"; but he would not, apparently, deny that right to a government which would adopt his own foreign policy. (Many who think like him have now cheerfully given that right to a foreign government.)

The argument really becomes one as to what circumstances justify us in assisting democracy to commit suicide—"in the interests of democracy and civilization." Mr. Ziliacus thus leaves the vicious circle unbroken.

J. W. Cowling

They are Helping To Build a New Civilization

BELIEF that "the work of pacifists is not just to create a condition of non-war but to build an entirely new civilization" is expressed by Richard B. Gregg, author of *The Power of Non-Violence*, in a letter to Charles Stuart, one of the founders of the Good Companions (a social welfare group working in conjunction with the City of London group of the Peace Pledge Union).

"War is an inevitable result of the kind of civilization we now have," adds Mr. Gregg. "I am sure that loving service of the sort that the Good Companions are doing is the right way to build the trust, the unity, the democracy, the love, the respect for personality, out of which the better civilization will come."

Anyone wishing to help in the work of the Good Companions can do so by sending clothing, boots and shoes for men, women and children (from birth upward), household linen and bedding—all of which are urgently needed—to the Good Companions at Friends' Meeting House, Barnet Grove, Bethnal Green, E.2.

Charles Stuart told *Peace News* last week of "one old fellow, who, on returning recently from a holiday (the first for twenty years) to which he had been entertained by two *Peace News* readers, stated that he 'Never knew there were such people in the world.'"

Birmingham Dramatic Performance

Mr. John van Druten's play, *The Flowers of the Forest*, will be produced by the Nomad Players in the Britwell Hall, Wyld Green, Birmingham, on Saturday, April 22. The local group of the Peace Pledge Union is cooperating in the organization of the production.

The Nomad Players have offered to produce the play for any PPU group in the Midlands for the cost of their expenses only—any profits to go to the PPU. Communications should be sent to their business manager: Harry W. Cooke, 56 Sandhurst Avenue, Birmingham 8.

All in a Maze

THE READING OF HISTORY

WARS and battles need not be studied closely, for they merely equip the mind with examples for the performance of evil and show the ways in which we may inflict injuries, one on another. Yet we cannot help noticing briefly, who took up arms, who were the leaders on either side, where the conflict took place, who were beaten, and what happened to them. But whatever is said or read in history, wars should be regarded not otherwise than as cases of theft, as indeed they usually are, excepting perhaps when undertaken against thieves. Let the student give his attention to peaceful affairs, a far more satisfactory and fruitful study. . . .

Juan Luis Vives. *De Tradendis Disciplinis*, 1531.

The above is an extract from the *Peace and War* anthology "All in a Maze," by Daniel George, with some assistance from Rose Macaulay. It is published by Collins, 6s. net.

SPECIAL OFFER TO 'PEACE NEWS' READERS

The "New Leader," I.L.P. Organ, which leads the struggle against Conscription and War in the Labour Movement, will be sent to you for 2s. 6d. for six months, post free, if you use this form.

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LAURENCE HOUSMAN

"Speaking Personally," answers the argument that

"Human Nature Never Changes"

MOST of us must have met with examples of two different forms of blind piety which masquerade in this world as wisdom. There are the blind pietists of theology, who worship a God, whom they regard as all-wise and all-powerful and all-providing; and who, when anything evil happens, say you must submit to it because it is the will of God, and He knows better than we do what is good for us.

And so, if a child dies in acute suffering from some disease, it is the will of God; or if a town is destroyed by earthquake, or if a ship sinks with all hands—it is the will of God. Anything you can't help is the will of God apparently: while anything you can help is not His will, and you are free to cure it in your own way.

So you will to have war, and vivisection, and capital punishment, while God wills the earthquakes and the volcanoes and the diseases. And I suppose the theological doctrine which underlies that curious division of labour for the affliction of men is the doctrine of free will: the volcanoes, and the storms, and the microbes are the will of God, because they have no free will of their own; and the wars, and the vivisections, and the capital punishments are the will of man, because man has free will.

The other school of blind pietists, on the other hand, seems to deny that man has any effective free will. His will is cribbed, cabined, and confined by a thing called human nature: and so when you want to

do something very good, something that would obviously be a benefit to the world, you can't do it because of human nature, they tell you—and because human nature never changes.

Tremendous Changes

THIS unchangeableness of human nature is a great standby of the materialists against the idealists. The materialists have always got some thousands of years of example to set against the aspirations of the idealists, and when they say that what has happened for 2,000, or 20,000, or 200,000 years (so that man has got it thoroughly into his blood) can't be changed in a day, they are talking sense; but when they say that it can never be changed, they are talking nonsense.

If human nature never changes, how did the idealists come to exist? The answer is—through human development; they, like the materialists, are a product of human nature. And just as storm, and earthquake, and disease, have developed science—ship-building, and house-building, and sanitation—so has materialism by its harsh rigours helped to produce idealism.

Science is showing us that we live in a world that has changed tremendously; history, that we live in a civilization—under forms of government—that have changed tremendously; theology, that we hold concepts of God, Spirit, and of the relations of Spirit to man, which have changed tremendously.

In every one of these departments of life the change has been something like a reversal. The prehistoric world was once dominated by forms of life which were very big and very strong—with very small brains; and they were defeated in the struggle for existence by things much smaller and weaker, but with larger brain. With that subtler development of life, brain defeated muscle. Thought, judgment, calculation, got the whip-hand of mere physical force, and proved itself stronger than instinct.

Fight for Freedom

CIVILIZATION was once dominated by the idea that the one should hold power over the many—even against their wills; and power built itself up on the combined idea of despotism and slavery. But gradually good government came more and more to mean that all should have a voice in the making of law, that those appointed to lead should depend for their leadership on the popular will; and the ideal of power became allied to the ideal of freedom.

And even in these dark and difficult days, when despotism is reasserting its claim to direct the destiny of nations, even now there is nothing absurd in the faith which we hold, that (other things being equal) that country has the truest form of power whose people are the most free—and that Empire is safest (or rather the only safe kind) which is held together by no dominance of race over race, but by voluntary bonds only.

That is a great reversal of the old ideas of government. And it was only the horrible blunder of the Great War ("blunder" was Mr. Lloyd George's word for it) which gave a temporary set-back to the gradual advance of the better ideal of power based on freedom.

Bible Falsehood

SIMILARLY, religion was once dominated by an idea that the unseen powers of

the spirit-world meant evil to man—that they were ever ready with hatred and jealousy, and revenge, to visit man with cruel punishment for his offences. Then, more and more, that conception of Deity gave place to the idea that, if there was a God, He must be a God of love: and the trouble of theology today is that it is still encumbered from of old with things which don't mean love; and though it tries to explain them away, it hasn't the courage to case them aside as vain superstitions, because they stand recorded in Old Testament history.

A chaplain who went through the War always asked two questions by soldiers whom he was trying to bring to religion: "Have I got to believe everything in the Bible?" and "Have I got to believe in Hell?" I believe that his individual reply in both cases was "The answer is in the negative." But the Church is quite definitely suffering

today because it dare not yet pronounce officially that the Bible contains much falsehood, and much bad morality, which is there set down as the word or as the act of God; and because it will not say that the old doctrine of eternal punishment is a vain thing fondly invented.

The idea of a spirit of Love which endlessly refuses to separate itself from the sinner is a reversal of those ideas about God through which human nature began to grope its way to the things of the spirit. If human nature does not change with increasing knowledge, why is theology in these difficulties?

Ready to Die

BUT remember that for those old theological ideas, human nature was once ready to die, and did die in countless thousands; and for the new theological ideas human nature is ready to die still. And for all the half-way and three-quarter-way ideas leading on from the one to the other men have died, and died, and died, all down the ages.

In that sense human nature never changes. But that unchangeableness of human nature—its willingness to face death for an ideal—is the root-cause of why it changes—and why some ideals it would have died for a few centuries ago, it will not die for today.

But one doesn't have to depend on ideals to show how deeply life is conditioned by change, and how the acceptance or rejection of change is a matter of life or death, of survival or of extinction throughout the order of creation and the development of species.

We see it working on the physical plane in what somebody called "the vestiges of creation"; we see it working on the mental plane in the history of society, in art, and industry, and government. It is logical to think that it is not working just as deeply, just as fundamentally, on the spiritual plane—when we see the spiritual conceptions of man going through as great changes as all the rest?

Effect of Environment

BUT come right away from this unseen and highly disputable thing which we call man's soul or spirit: come right back to the physical plane—for there we shall find the clue to all the development that has followed after. Ask yourselves how did certain birds and animals and insects acquire those puzzling forms and habits, in one species or another, which, though so

outwardly alike, make them so different? Did cuckoos never build nests, and never hatch out their own young? Were they always God's moral emblem for the encouragement of the happy and successful parasite? Had the first bee the hive-instinct? Did a certain bird of New Zealand, whose name I have forgotten, always feed on sheep's kidney?

Of course not: these habits were all acquired and indulged till they became hereditary—they were the product of environment. Given changed environment, and new stimuli, life is always liable to changes; and these may have a profound effect upon the nature of the species; meat-eaters may become vegetarians, vegetarians meat-eaters, and therefore predatory. The lonely may become gregarious and evolve social habits which create new necessities and make previous necessities obsolete. And it depends on the adaptability of species to these great changes offered by fresh environment whether they survive or whether they become extinct.

Whitsun Weekend Peace School

Stuart Morris, chairman of the Peace Pledge Union, Gerry Cutcliffe, General Secretary of the International Friendship League, the Rev. Clifford Pickford, and Andrew Stewart will be among the speakers at a Whitsun weekend school (May 27 to 29) on "Internationalism" at Westerham Congregational Church.

The programme includes an international sing-song, rambles, &c., and the school has been organized by local groups of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, League of Nations Union, IFL, and PPU. Bookings, with 5s. deposit (returnable), should be sent to Eric Gusterton, 46, Woodhurst Avenue, Petts Wood, Kent.

Why the Jews Survive

"He was oppressed, yet he humbled himself." In those seven words, if only he can believe it, is expressed the destiny of this truly 'peculiar' race. Those words, written more than two thousand years ago, were a true rescript of Jewish history at the time they were written, and equally true a forecast of their history ever since.

"Is it possible that so tragic a destiny could ever have been imposed or inherited but under the providence of God?"

"Let us be grateful to God that He values us for our peculiarities, and that He has created and maintained one race amongst the families of men who demonstrate by their age-long survival under age-long persecution which they never resist the otherwise unbelievable truth that it is pacifism that really wins against oppression."—Reginald Glanville in a letter in the *Manchester Guardian*.

Poplar & Stepney Assoc. Against Unemployment

Second Public Meeting

at ASSEMBLY HALL
POPLAR TOWN HALL

on Tuesday, 25th April

Meeting Commences 7.45 p.m.

Speakers: George Lansbury, M.P.; Dr. Donald Soper; Rev. St. John Groser; Dr. Alfred Salter, M.P.; William G. Millman, Chairman; Rev. William Dick.

ADMISSION FREE

A limited number of reserved seats, price 1/-, from W. G. Millman, Trinity Hall, Augusta St., Poplar, E.14.

MEAT EATING INVOLVES CRUELTY!

Why not try The Vegetarian Way?

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THE VEG. TARIAN SOCIETY,

57, Princess Street, Manchester, 2

Read the

SOCIALIST CASE AGAINST WAR in

"FORWARD"

Every Friday

2d.

HONEST, FEARLESS, INDEPENDENT

Send postcard for sample copy to:

26, Civic Street, Glasgow, C.4.

Protest Against "Harsh" I.R.A. Sentences

The following resolution has been passed by members of the Connolly Club in London:

This meeting of the Connolly Club strongly protests against the harsh sentences passed on the Irish men and women in connexion with the recent explosions.

The Fascist methods of the Craigavon administration have driven these Republicans into a policy of violence but of their courage and integrity there can be no doubt. Their sacrifice is a symbol of Ireland unfree and oppressed.

The sentences passed are in sharp contrast to the praise lavished on Irishmen in Palestine and elsewhere where bombings are used to keep other peoples in subjection, and to bombings in Northern Ireland by supporters of the Craigavon Government.

We call for the immediate withdrawal of British troops and subsidies from the Northern Ireland Government and the abolition of the fascist Special Powers' Act which prevents ordinary Civil Liberties.

Only the acknowledgment of the right of the people of Ireland to full freedom can secure the friendship of the Irish and British democracies.

Pacifist Service Corps in Bristol

As a first step in the formation of a Pacifist Service Corps in Bristol, a first-aid class for women has been formed and will be held weekly at the Folk House, College Green, commencing April 25, from 7.30 to 9.30 p.m.

Each lesson will consist of a one-hour lecture from a doctor and one-hour practical work for the first eight classes, the last two nights of the course being given entirely over to practical work and demonstration.

At the end of the course every member of the class is expected to take the St. John's First Aid examination. This is a condition for membership of class. The list of class and examination fee will be 7s. 6d.

Those wishing to join this class should write as soon as possible to Winifred Whyatt, 14, Gloucester Road, Bristol, 6, enclosing stamped envelope if reply is required.

A similar course is being held for men at the Redcross Schools. Men wishing to join a class should write immediately to Mr. Williams, Hannah More Evening Institute, St. Phillips, Bristol. Classes have already been formed and are being held on Mondays, Tuesdays and Wednesdays.

Later there will be other ways of qualifying for membership of the Pacifist Service Corps in Bristol. The organizers feel that in beginning with first aid, they are taking a universally needed service in peace time as in war, at home and abroad.

JOHN BARCLAY writes from Room 13:**Where There's
Life,
There's Hope**

OVER 1,100 members attended the annual general meeting last weekend and no one who was there can have any doubts about the enthusiasm and devotion which were manifested. It was an intensely sincere gathering, and fully representative of the movement.

Delegates came from Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and England, and out of the 300 official delegates, only 49 came from London groups. I should like to thank personally those members who provided hospitality over the weekend to delegates, and the many individuals who helped me by acting as stewards and "runners" at all times and often at great inconvenience to themselves. It was largely owing to them that everything worked so smoothly.

**The Group
Secretary's
Weekly
Notes**

I have heard of only one casualty—a car was stolen from outside Headquarters and I hope by this time it has been found and returned!

The opening ceremony at No. 6 on Saturday afternoon was a great success and everyone seemed delighted with the new Dick Sheppard House. The crowd that gathered in the roadway to listen to the speeches of Stuart Morris and Laurence Housman would have made Hitler and Mussolini envious. One solitary constable stood representing law and order, but his services were not needed, and before the end even he must have been infected by the spirit of friendship which seemed to fill the street.

My last memory of the conference was the reception given to Stuart Morris when at the end of the final session a vote of thanks was moved for his work as conference chairman, and he was accorded "musical" honours.

And now what? Back to your groups to translate this spirit into action. Machinery has been installed but it is useless without the spirit.

Movements in the past have started with great hopes and are now lying in pieces all round us, destroyed by the very machine which they put their faith in. Ours is an excellent machine, but we must not expect it to do more than for what it was built.

It cannot create and it cannot inspire, but it can, if we are not careful, grind, and grind exceeding small. Speaking for myself, I intend to help to make the machine work but utterly refuse to let it work me.

**The Notice
Board**

Items must be received by MONDAY.

Meetings

Kingston and Surbiton group now has a pitch in Kingston Market Place for open-air meetings on Sunday evenings at 7.45 p.m. *Peace News* sellers wanted.

Liverpool.—Peace Group will meet Mondays at 7.30 p.m. in Friends' Meeting House, Hunter Street.

Poster Parades

Glasgow.—Parades every Saturday night in April. Apply PPU Office, 534 Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow.

There will be poster parades and *Peace News* selling from Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1, every Saturday at 6.45 p.m.

"Peace News" Sellers Wanted

Glasgow.—Selling every Saturday night in April. Apply PPU Office, 534 Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow.

Gravesend.—New Road every Friday from 6.30 to 8 p.m. Write Donald Port, 143, Singlewell Road, Gravesend.

Sparkhill and Sparkbrook.—Members here wish to maintain six selling posts every Friday (5.30 to 8 p.m.). Write Ronald A. King, 370 Sarehole Road, Hall Green, Birmingham, 28.

Birmingham.—Further volunteers wanted for street selling every Friday (4.30 to 8.30 p.m.) for hour or more. Write Wilfred S. Burt, 22 Hem-yock Road, Selly Oak, Birmingham 29.

Miscellaneous

Sheffield.—June 10 has been fixed for a *Peace News* Regional Conference. Further details later.

Volunteers wanted to poster parade or sell "*Peace News*" on June 3, at open-air meeting, Tonbridge. Also volunteers to help run *Peace Book Shop*, June 3 to 9. Write: Tonbridge Secretary, 20 Barden Park Road, Tonbridge, Kent.

Learn German quickly.—War Resisters' International highly recommend refugee friend teach German privately or classes arranged by groups in London area. Also coaching for examination. Necessary to earn. Apply WRI, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex.

Liverpool.—Anyone in this district desiring *peace literature*, posters, leaflets, &c., is invited to call on Mondays or inquire from M. Muriel Shearer, 44 Oxford Road, Bootle. Liverpool, 20.

The Rev.

**CANON
STUART MORRIS**

will preach at the

Weigh House Church

DUKE STREET, W.1

THIS SUNDAY (23rd)

at 11 and 7.

Under the Oak Tree**NOW THE WAR
IS OVER . . .**

By Theo Wills

WE usually drink out of "tanks" at Basque House. At least, that is what the Spanish word "tanque" sounds like, although "mug" is a better translation.

They have lasted well, considering, but are now beginning to show chips and dints in the enamel, and therefore we appreciate very much the gifts of mugs and crockery which have come in answer to our appeal, and we send our warmest thanks.

But this does not mean we shall not be glad of more. Audiences at our monthly concerts usually approximate to a "century," and we give them tea, so that we have need of plain crockery in addition to enamel-ware for daily use.

The new situation in Spain has, of course, its bearing on the lives of our children. They have become inured to unpleasant news and therefore are allowed to read the papers freely.

They followed events closely, and, on the whole, with resignation, up to the fall of Madrid. On the surrender, however, a small minority declared the garrison were cowards for giving in, but a much larger opposition indignantly asked this minority how much more bloodshed they wanted.

You see, we have our "parliament" which discusses the world's affairs.

Touching the children even more closely is the fact that the absorption of Government Spain has led to the return of some parents to Bilbao, and one or two reclamations.

One such case, typical of others, shows with what little confidence these reclamations can be considered. A father, finding himself in his home again, sent for his two daughters, then realized that he had been allowed to return merely for identification purposes, and as a preliminary to being put immediately into gaol.

To change to pleasanter themes, the children are going on bravely with their lives here. Many have visited their foster-parents over the holiday, and have been thrilled by their entertainment.

We had a crammed house-concert at the beginning of the month, a pleasant concert in Clacton last week, and are planning a tour in North London in May.

This series, "Under the Oak Tree," is a weekly reminder of the Basque Children who are our proteges at Basque House, Langham, Colchester, Essex. All gifts in kind should be sent there.

Donations, in cash or by cheque, should be sent to the Basque Fund, Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1. They will be most gratefully acknowledged.

What They Said - - -**New Organization Scheme
Adopted: Council Will
Include Area Delegates**

THE second annual general meeting of the Peace Pledge Union was held last weekend in Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

Canon Stuart Morris presided throughout.

The following scheme for the future organization of the PPU was adopted:

"That a Council be elected to form the executive body of the Peace Pledge Union, consisting of twenty members to be chosen by the annual general meeting, together with one representative nominated from each area, with power to co-opt up to one-third of this total; that this Council should normally meet quarterly and have power to appoint an executive committee and such other committees as might be necessary, and also to appoint Sponsors."

Under this arrangement Sponsors will not be members of the Council, nor will they have any executive authority; the title has been retained to enable prominent men and women to continue to be associated with the PPU without carrying executive responsibility.

The meeting also unanimously elected Mr. George Lansbury, MP, to be President of the Union.

A resolution was carried instructing the national executive "to appoint a sub-committee with power of co-option to prepare a plan for the social and industrial reconstruction which would be necessitated by a policy of total disarmament," this plan to be reported to the next AGM.

We give below an account of the reports presented to the meeting and of the discussion on organization and on the above resolution.

The discussion on policy is reported on page seven.

THE reports, which were to have been presented at the first session, were held over until the second session owing to the emergency resolution reported on page seven.

The first was that of the chairman, Stuart Morris.

He said that, after the last AGM, the Sponsors had decided to accept executive responsibility and to delegate day-to-day business to a Management Committee. The Sponsors assumed responsibility for all literature issued under the auspices of the PPU.

After paying a tribute to the headquarters' staff Stuart Morris gave the following information:

Membership had increased steadily during the year at an average of 662 members per month, and was now 124,758. During the two most critical days of the September crisis 600 members had joined, though there had been some resignations. Resignations had increased lately, due to people dropping back into a belief in "collective security."

Activities were mainly associated with the Manifesto campaign and distribution of the broadsheet after the crisis. The PPU had also played a large part in the campaign for the National Petition for a new World Conference.

Literature: Two and a half million copies of "free" leaflets had been disposed of by groups during the year, as well as 55,000 other books and pamphlets.

AREA DEVELOPMENT

The most significant development during the year had been that of the areas, and the PPU could prepare during the next twelve months for considerable decentralization.

During the September crisis the Sponsors had felt it was the business of the PPU to maintain the clear pacifist witness and not to associate too closely with non-pacifists.

It had been their aim to keep a unity which was not a false uniformity. "We have to maintain our fellowship on the simple pledge that we renounce war," concluded Stuart Morris, whose report was adopted.

Presenting his report and accounts, the Treasurer, Maurice L. Rowntree, spoke of the advantages of the new headquarters from financial and other points of view.

He said that a contribution of 11d. per week by half of the 124,000 signatories would produce an income of £15,500 a year.

The question of economy had been carefully considered, but the conclusion was reached that no drastic "cuts" were possible. There was urgent need for financial support of headquarters work.

During the questions on the report a delegate declared that salaries and wages formed too high a proportion of the total expenditure, and the Treasurer offered to give more details to any who were concerned on this point. Mr. Baldwin (Nottingham) said the question was not so much how to reduce expenditure as how to increase income.

The report was adopted.

GROWTH OF THE GROUPS

The growth of the groups from 750 to 1,150 was reported by John Barclay, Group Organizer. Those doing active work in every kind of way numbered 500.

He mentioned as of particular value the open-air work carried on during the summer (especially visits to villages) and door-to-door contacts made by groups.

Referring to those who were suffering for their convictions, he told the meeting of a member who had come into conflict with the police the previous evening (as reported elsewhere in this issue).

John Barclay cited the case as an instance of what all groups ought to be doing, and concluded by urging members to "make two groups grow where one grows now."

(Continued at foot of Col. 4.)

'Be a Brick!'

urges

Laurence Housman

A NOVEL appeal for funds to clear off the remaining debt on Dick Sheppard House, 6, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1., PPU Headquarters, was made by Laurence Housman, eminent playwright and Sponsor of the PPU, when he spoke at the official opening of the House last Saturday.

"I have a friend, a builder," he said, "who tells me that a house of this size takes about 124,000 bricks to build. Now, we have in the PPU 124,000 members.

"If every one of our members would be a brick and (pricing himself at the very moderate sum of sixpence) stand sponsor to that amount for one of the bricks which go to make up this building, then we should be able to take possession of it from now on free of debt.

"Is it too much to ask that those who have signed so great and revolutionary a pledge as that which we have signed, renouncing war, should pay the price of the laying or the maintaining in its place of one single brick in this house, which has become the Ark of our Covenant?"

Mr. Frank B. Middleton, accountant of the PPU, will be happy to receive donations to the Brick Fund, at the address given above.

The fund was inaugurated by about £24 at the AGM.

Picture shows ONE-THIRD of Dick Sheppard House. Why not sponsor YOUR brick NOW?

Up to going to Press

1,280

bricks have been sponsored

In answer to a question David Spreckley said it was hoped shortly to hold a conference of pacifist youth with a view to the building of a youth organization.

Humphrey S. Moore, Editor of *Peace News*, reported a steady circulation, tending to rise, but affected slightly by external influences. The latest available net circulation figure was 18,463 for the last week in February. Nearly sixty per-

(Continued on opposite page)

At the Annual Meeting

Both "Leader" Plans Are Rejected: Reports Reveal Steady Progress

(continued from opposite page)

cent of the circulation was accounted for by newagents' sales.

After referring to the improvements in the paper and to evidence received of its value to the pacifist cause, Mr. Moore asked critics to remember that there were divergent views in the movement to be tolerated; he called for "a sense of proportion, a belief in the sincerity of our desire to give the best services in difficult circumstances, and a readiness to appreciate that what seems quite useless to one may be serving a very useful purpose for another."

As to the financial position he pointed out that the deficiency had remained constant while the turnover had doubled, and that the position had improved since the end of the financial year. Groups could help in various ways to improve the financial position of the paper and to increase its circulation.

A resolution on behalf of the Bradford Peace News Committee, suggesting ways of increasing the paper's effectiveness in educating the general public, was moved by Denis Riley.

After Richard Bishop (Wales), Geoffrey Pickup (Sheffield), and an Exeter speaker had made various criticisms, on the ground of general quality and of the tone of certain articles and cartoons, William J. Lyon (Gatley) said he thought the fault for declining sales lay with sellers.

The Editor replied to points raised during the discussion and his report was adopted, the Bradford resolution having been withdrawn.

WORK OF THE W.R.I.

The work of the War Resisters' International, to which the PPU is affiliated, was described by its Honorary Secretary, H. Runham Brown, who said the work had increased fourfold during the year.

The International knew of 480 men who were in prison for refusal of military service, and many others were being persecuted for their beliefs.

The meeting greeted with enthusiasm Runham Brown's announcement that Eugene Lagot, French Council member of the W.R.I., had been released from prison the previous day.

Runham Brown described the W.R.I. as a "world-wide family," and told how it had discovered young boys making a stand against military service, believing themselves to be entirely alone in the world. The W.R.I. tried to use their stand itself as propaganda.

Turning to its other work, he spoke of the home in the South of France for Spanish refugee children, where the children of anarchists, communists and fascists were living together, and of relief work for other refugees, and appealed for PPU members who would give more guarantees for refugees and more hospitality in London.

He commended the W.R.I. scheme for the "adoption" of refugees, and his report was adopted.

ORGANIZATION PLANS

The meeting then turned to the discussion of the four suggested schemes for the organization of the PPU, and it was explained that a decision would first be made between (a) and (b) as opposed to (c) and (d), to be followed by a decision between the two schemes that would then remain.

Briefly these schemes were:

(a) That the PPU continue as at present;
(b) That a Council be elected to form the executive body and the Sponsors the advisory body;

(c) That a leader be elected for one year, be free to choose his own Sponsors and be entrusted with full responsibility for policy;

(d) That a representative Council be elected together with a leader who would be responsible to that council for policy, while free to choose his own executive committee, &c.]

The first speaker, Mr. Lindsay, thought that (a) or (b) would give members more sense of responsibility on the financial side. He thought there was no-one ready to accept the "terrific responsibility" of a leader.

Richard Bishop (Wales) supported (b) and spoke of Welsh members' "distaste" for (c) and (d). He urged that areas should be represented by those who did the day-to-day work.

Support for (c) and (d) came from David Speckley who said the title "leader" had been wrongly interpreted. "Let us call him a general secretary," he suggested. The PPU should not over-organize itself, he said.

Scott Bayliss (Buckhurst Hill) pointed out that a leader in whom some could have complete faith would not suit others. Each member was individually responsible for the movement and this could be expressed through representation at headquarters.

The Rev. Vincent Williams (Scottish Area) declared that (c) put too great a burden on one man, and asked for cooperative responsibility. He supported (a), believing it necessary to keep the Sponsors as an executive body. At present those coopted to represent areas did not have equal authority, and he thought they should do so.

William J. Lyon (Gatley) said that democracy meant the rule of the majority, against which the PPU protested. They were living in days of emergency in which they needed a man who act quickly.

Andrew Stewart declared that half the charm of the PPU had been its abundance of amateurs; the amateur brought zeal and enthusiasm. But the professional had one great advantage over the amateur; he knew his job and he never doubted his capacity to do it. He wanted the

PPU to be an organization of professional pacifist propagandists—not in the sense of being paid, but in the sense of knowing what they wanted and how to get it. They needed, not one leader, but 140,000 of them.

Denis Riley (West Yorkshire Federation) pointed to the loss of some £3,000 which, he said, was the result of Sponsors governing the movement.

Samuel Peat (Wembley) said the PPU's existence depended upon its day-to-day reactions to present problems, which could best be expressed under (d).

HOW THEY VOTED

A motion that the question be put was then carried by 1,863 votes to 840. A show of hands resulted in an overwhelming majority for (a) and (b) against (c) and (d).

Upon a vote being taken, (a) received a total of 1,274 votes and (b) 1,445 votes. The latter scheme secured a majority both in the number of delegates' votes and in the number of individuals' votes.

When the conference resumed for its third session on Sunday afternoon, after the election of Mr. George Lansbury as president, and a report by Canon Morris as to Mr. Wray's proposals, the discussion on organization was resumed.

Canon Morris put forward a scheme based on Scheme (b) and the proposed amendments to it. The simplified scheme had been drawn up at a meeting of Sponsors and area representatives on Sunday morning. All but two of the original amendments were accordingly withdrawn.

The first amendment to be considered was from the N.W.9 group: "that the Council shall not include any paid officials of the movement."

After speeches from both sides had been heard, the amendment was put and lost.

Harold Bing, who had taken a leading part in the compiling of the scheme based on (b), explained that it was felt by those who approved the scheme that if there was an elected council, together with a body of Sponsors, it was going to be difficult to decide what would be their relationship. It was certain that some Sponsors would not be willing to serve on the advisory body.

While, under this scheme, the Sponsors went out of existence, Mr. Bing explained that they were still open for election to the new council.

AREA REPRESENTATION

Sydney Conbeer (Birmingham) then proposed that the newly-elected vice-presidents should remain under the name of Sponsors. This was carried.

Introducing an amendment "that the Central Council consist of one representative appointed by each area together with some of the Sponsors, not exceeding in number one-quarter of the whole Council—the representatives of both the areas and the Sponsors to be elected by the groups," the Eastleigh representative said it was felt by her fellow-members that in an annual general meeting of this description it was hardly fair to elect a Council of people whose names were probably not well-known. It did not necessarily follow that if a person was known in his area he was known throughout the whole of the PPU.

A Yorkshire delegate supported the amendment, and remarked that headquarters would be strengthened by wider contact with the groups.

The amendment was lost.

An amendment from Northampton that (a) the Council shall consist of representatives of areas, who shall be elected at area annual general meetings, and (b) that Sponsors be elected at the national annual general meeting" was then moved, seconded and lost.

Discussion followed as to how the Council should be made up. Dr. Salter pointed out more than two-thirds of the members of the PPU were in areas where there were no organized groups.

After a discussion on the proposal by Sydney Conbeer (Birmingham) that the Council consisted of twenty representatives from areas, and twenty elected by the AGM, it was decided that there should be twenty elected by the meeting and one representative from each area, and with this alteration the scheme put forward at the opening of the session was carried.

DISARMAMENT PLAN

Four resolutions on general policy were then discussed.

The first, from Stoke-on-Trent, instructed the national executive to appoint a sub-committee to prepare a plan for the social and industrial reconstruction which would be necessitated by a policy of total disarmament. The mover emphasized that to suggest a policy of total disarmament without any plan as to what might happen as a result of that policy was futile.

Captain Mumford felt that the resolution did not come quite within the scope of the PPU. He felt that it was important for some time to retain the simplicity of the PPU.

The motion was carried, after a division, by 1,341 votes to 1,267.

A resolution from Herne Hill "that the question of the support of any who may be victimized or lose their employment for conscientious reasons be remitted to the groups for their consideration" was carried.

The Finchley motion "that the AGM should

(Continued in column 3)

Points from the Reports

THE following points from reports presented to the annual general meeting are a record of the progress of the PPU during the past twelve months.

Membership has increased during the year at an average rate of 662 members per month, and is now 124,758 (after allowing for resignations.)

Groups number 1,150, as against 750 a year ago. Those doing active work of all kinds number 500.

These groups have distributed 21 million copies of "free" leaflets during the year, as well as 55,000 other books and pamphlets.

The sales of "Peace News" have been steady, and show a tendency to rise. The latest available net circulation figure is 18,463 (last week in February).

The work of the War Resisters' International, of which the PPU is the British section, has increased fourfold during the year.

be held in different parts of the country," was also carried.

Horsforth's resolution "that the question 'Do you want to become a member of the Peace Pledge Union?' should be printed on all cards or literature where the pledge is reproduced for signature" was discussed and rejected.

The budget, which was presented by Maurice Rowntree, was discussed and passed.

G.L. Calls for "Loyalty"

IN his welcome to the members at the first session, Mr. George Lansbury urged them to "make up their minds on the question of organization and, having done so, to abide loyally by the decision."

"This movement depends upon loyalty to one's own conscience," he added. "It can only depend on individual consciences."

"We must have that pride of toleration which enables us to accept as comrades all those who refuse to take part in violence and war and, once that is accepted, leave it to individuals how they will apply their principles."

Forthcoming Events

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organizers of events to

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday.

2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organizers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Today (Friday)

LONDON, W.1; 7.30 p.m. Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Thomas Street, Oxford Street; Reginald Sorensen on "As I See Things"; PPU. PINNER; 8 p.m. Vagabonds' Hall, Eastcote Road; James Avery Joyce, Miss Sybil Morrison and Councillor W. C. Kincaid (chairman); PPU. GOLDERS GREEN; 8.15 p.m. Orpheum Cafe, Temple Fortune, Finchley Road; group meeting; John Barclay; PPU.

Tomorrow (Saturday)

LONDON, W.1; 3 p.m. Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, King's Weigh House, Thomas Street; Fiesta; national songs and dances by Basque Children from Basque House, Langham; entrance free; PPU. NEWTON ABBOT; 7 p.m. Market Square; Rev. Reginald Sorensen; PPU. GERRARDS CROSS; 8.15 p.m. Girl Guides Hall, Station Road; Mrs. Edith Hunter and H. Bayley (chairman); PPU and FoR. LONDON, E.C.1; 8.30 p.m. Cripplegate Theatre, Golden Lane; production of The Builders, by R. H. Ward; The Adelphi Group.

Sunday, April 23

EXETER; 3 p.m. YMCA; Rev. Reginald Sorensen; PPU.

Monday, April 24

PAIGNTON; 7 p.m. The Green; Rev. Reginald Sorensen; PPU.

MANCHESTER; 7.45 p.m. Houldsworth Hall, 90 Deansgate; public demonstration; James Maxton, A. Joseph Brayshaw, and others; No Conscription League; tickets (reserved and numbered 1s., reserved 6d.) from Douglas Owen, 6 Mount Street, Manchester 2.

BAYSWATER; 8 p.m. Dick Sheppard Centre, 52 Queensway; Muriel Lester on "Community in the Far East"; Community Service Committee. CHESHAM; 8 p.m. Institute Room of Congregational Church; Mary Osborn on "Community

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MEETINGS, &c.

SOUTH LONDON NO CONSCRIPTION LEAGUE CONFERENCE, Central Library, Spa Road, Bermondsey, Saturday, April 29th, at 3 p.m. Delegates 6d. each, three for one shilling. Get your Trade Union Branch, local Labour Party or other organisation to appoint delegates. Speakers: A. Salter, M.P., Fenner Brockway, W. Ballantine, W. H. Brothers, Canon Morris, J. H. Hudson, etc.

SUMMER SCHOOL at "Hillside," Farncombe, in Surrey Hills, July 22-29. Lectures on Personal and General Psychology by Milton Powell, well-known psychological lecturer and author, also Natural Movement teaching by Miss Grace Guy. Social evenings, excursions, &c. Moderate charge, write for programme.

SITUATIONS

Vacant

ENERGETIC MAN REQUIRED by very old-established successful firm which permits freedom of conscience. Must be able to drive car (carefully) and willing to reside in or near North London. Work is interesting and will be taught. Essential qualifications: a strong and conscientious desire to please customers (not canvassing); willingness to work late evening hours as required by clients (48-hour week); experience of office work an advantage. Commencing salary £3 weekly plus small bonus and excellent prospects for right man. Write age and full details of previous work.—Box 165, Peace News, 3, Blackstock Road, N.4.

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in Practice"; PPU.

HERNE HILL; 8 p.m. Baptist Church Hall (corner Winterbrook Road); Ronald S. Mallone on "The Current Situation"; PPU.

LONDON E.C.1; 8 p.m. St. Paul's Vicarage, 27 Goswell Road; inaugural meeting; John Barclay; chairman: Rev. C. G. Langdon; PPU.

Tuesday, April 25

TOWER HILL; 12.30 p.m. Open-air meeting; Rev. Leslie Artigstall; City PPU group.

POPLAR; 7.45 p.m. Town Hall; George Lansbury, Dr. Donald Soper, Rev. St. John B. Groser, Dr. Alfred Salter, William G. Millman and Rev. William Dick (chairman); Poplar and Stepney Association Against Unemployment.

BURY; 8 p.m. Cooperative Hall, Knowsley Street; "The Case for Pacifism"; Canon Stuart Morris, Helen Byles Ford and Canon H. L. Hornby (chairman); PPU.

Wednesday, April 26

PERTH; 7.30 p.m. Methodist Church Halls; J. D. McLean and Rev. John Bishop (chairman); PPU. NORTHFLEET; 8 p.m. St. Botolph's Men's Club; Donald Port on "Economic and Monetary Problems of our Day"; PPU.

PECKHAM; 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Highshore Road; Andrew Stewart on "Pacifism the only way to Peace"; PPU.

EALING; 8.15 p.m. Bedford Hall Bedford Road; Canon Stuart Morris; PPU.

WIMBLEDON; 8.15 p.m. St. George's Hall, St. George's Road; Rev. Leslie Artigstall on "Has the Christian any Option?"; Ivan Blowers (chairman); FoR.

Thursday, April 27

LONDON, E.C.4; 1.10 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; Douglas Wollen on "Could we Pacifists take over?"; City PPU group.

LONDON, E.C.4; 5.30 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; Stanley Cooper on "Liberty"; City PPU group. ARBROATH; 7.30 p.m. Central Dining Rooms; J. D. McLean and J. S. McNaughton (chairman); PPU.

LIMBRICK; 7.45 p.m. YMCA; Mr. J. Sharples on "Armaments and Education"; PPU.

Friday, April 28

DUNDEE; 7.30 p.m. Chalmers Church Halls; Angus Region Social Rally; J. D. McLean, Dr. C. Coulson and A. Christie (chairman); PPU.

LONDON, W.1; 7.30 p.m. Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, King's Weigh House, Thomas Street, Oxford Street; Chinese speaker on "China Today"; PPU.

WHAT ROOSEVELT SHOULD HAVE SAID

(continued from page 1)

by the leaders of all civilized States. If this is true then there need be no war.

It is still clear to me that international problems can be solved at the council table.

It is no answer to the plea for peaceful discussion for one side to plead that unless they receive assurance beforehand the verdict will be theirs, they will not lay aside their arms.

In conference rooms as in courts, it is necessary that both sides enter upon the discussion in good faith, assuming that substantial justice will accrue to both, and it is customary and necessary that they leave their arms outside the room where they confer.

It is in this spirit that I shall enter into such a discussion, and I have confidence that it will be reciprocated.

I believe that, immediately, two essential problems can be discussed in peaceful surroundings, and in those discussions the Government of the United States will gladly take part.

Arms and Trade

The discussions which I have in mind relate to the most effective and immediate manner through which the peoples of the world can obtain progressive relief from the crushing burden of armament, which is each day bringing them more closely to the brink of economic disaster.

Simultaneously, the Government of the United States would be prepared to take part in discussions looking towards the most practical manner of opening up avenues of international trade, to the end that every nation of the earth may be enabled to buy and sell on equal terms in the world market, as well as to possess assurance of obtaining the materials and products of peaceful economic life.

Should this involve concessions—even great sacrifices—on the part of our people I think I can assure you that we shall be prepared to make them, believing that the other great nations of the world, whose desire for peace is not less than our own, will be similarly prepared.

"I Hope—"

We recognize complex world problems, which affect all humanity, but we know that study and discussion of these must be held in an atmosphere of peace. Such an atmosphere of peace cannot exist if negotiations are overshadowed by the threat of force or by the fear of war.

Accordingly, I propose immediately to suspend all preparations of a warlike character, and I am inviting the British and French Governments to do likewise.

I know you will not misunderstand the spirit in which I send you this message.

Heads of great Governments in this hour are literally responsible for the fate of humanity in the coming years. They cannot fail to hear the prayers of their peoples to be protected from the foreseeable chaos of war.

History will hold them accountable for the lives and happiness of all—even unto the least.

I hope that your answer will make it possible for humanity to lose fear and regain security for many years to come.

I am sending this message to the heads of the governments of all the civilized peoples of the world, in the hope that they will seize this moment of relief from tension to meet and deliberate on how together they can save the world from catastrophe.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

British Petitioners' Message to Roosevelt

THE National Peace Council, acting on behalf of the National Petition "for a Peace Conference" has sent the following cable to President Roosevelt:

"Million signatories British National Petition for new Peace Conference welcome historic peace initiative and pledge utmost effort to secure fullest British contribution."

The Petition, which was recently communicated to President Roosevelt and was presented by a Deputation to Mr. Chamberlain on March 20th, calls for "a new Peace Conference open to all nations and directed towards remedying the economic and political conditions likely to lead to war."

In addition to this cable the Committee decided to send a special circular to the 600 local organizations and individual workers associated with the Petition campaign, urging them to follow up the Roosevelt initiative by pressing upon the British Government the necessity for a precise and immediate statement of the contribution Great Britain is prepared to make to a peaceful solution of the economic and political problems underlying the present international tension.

A Pacifist Commentary

Asking for Peace—While Preparing for War :: Public Opinion Can Admit the Refugees

IT cannot be too strongly emphasized that if American, British and French Governments are expecting any peaceful outcome from Mr. Roosevelt's messages to the dictators they are adopting the worst possible methods—quite apart from the terms of the messages themselves, which are dealt with on the front page of this issue.

No-one pretends that the intentions of the Axis Powers do not give cause for great anxiety, but an entirely wrong picture is given by those who suggest that everything depends upon Germany and Italy. The moves of the democracies are hardly calculated to inspire confidence in their professions of peacefulness.

President Roosevelt's dramatic intervention in the European scene was followed immediately by the announcement that the American Battle Fleet would be transferred from the Atlantic to the Pacific. This has been regarded as a precaution in case of war in the near future, and is believed to be regarded in Washington as "of almost equal importance with the dispatch of the messages to Berlin and Rome."

(The messages were, incidentally, preceded by a significant speech in which Mr. Roosevelt said America "will speak to the rest of the world" in pursuit of "an interest wider than that of the mere defence of our sea-ringed coast." This didn't, however, prepare people for what was to follow.)

Causes of Distrust

THE British and French part in the developments since the weekend has been a welcome to Mr. Roosevelt's message plus a continuation of the hurried creation of a collective defence system—the very "encirclement" of which Hitler complains.

Yet at the same time they and President Roosevelt are expecting Germany to give up the only weapons which (through our own procrastination) have proved effective to revise the Treaty of Versailles. Little wonder that Germany's reply is, "Nothing doing!"

Meanwhile tension continues, due to the concentration of French warships at Gibraltar, the dispatch of the German fleet for Spanish waters, and other signs of distrust.

Another Surprise?

WHILE the speed with which the situation is developing makes forecasting hazardous, it seems that any important development after this issue of *Peace News* has gone to press may be in connexion with Danzig.

A surprise in the Balkans is not to be ruled out, however, for the talks between the Yugo-Slav Premier and the leader of the Croat minority have not produced a solution of the minority problem. A breakdown of the talks might be the prelude to the establishment of a much more authoritarian Government in Yugo-Slavia.

There continues a certain amount of apparently wishful thinking that Italy will desert her Axis partner; but, unless secret diplomacy has been at work again, there would seem to have been no real attempt to make her do so.

Whatever Mussolini might prefer, it is likely that he will continue to take his orders from Berlin.

How We Bought "Gib."

THOUGH there has been no suggestion that the British Government's conscience is becoming uneasy over the British occupation of Gibraltar, geographically a part of Spain, *The Times* printed on Saturday a letter from Mr. L. G. Wickham Legg, of Oxford University, explaining that "legally the British possession of Gibraltar rests not on the capture of the town by Sir George Rooke in 1704, but on a far stronger title—namely, cession in return for compensation paid as arranged in the Treaty of Versailles of 1783."

And what did we pay for it?

Mr. Legg's answer is—East and West Florida (which are in America and have since passed to the USA), and Minorca (the Mediterranean island still in Spanish hands).

Perhaps Mr. Legg will now tell us how much Britain paid for East and West Florida and Minorca. If we acquired them by other means than purchasing them, would General Franco and President Roosevelt be guilty under international law of retaining property which they know to have been stolen?

The question may seem flippant, but the answer would throw a little light on the means whereby points of strategic importance are acquired.

War-Time "Socialism"

IT has been said that if the Great War had continued much longer one of its results would have been socialism in Britain.

The truth in this remark—though the socialism would probably have been of a nationalist variety—is shown by the plans for the control and distribution of food in war-time, announced on Monday night.

The Ministry of Food which is envisaged would be the sole importer of all foodstuffs and the sole purchaser of all supplies as they left the farm or factory. Prices at which food would be sold to wholesalers, and by them to retailers, would be controlled—quite a modification of the "every man for himself" principle behind our present system (or lack of it).

The moral is obvious. We can apparently prepare in advance for the rigid control of a possible shortage of food, yet we take no steps to ensure that the potential abundance now available shall be distributed to those in need of it.

The moral is capable of wider application, and in this connexion good advice was given by the *Evening Standard* on Friday. For once, at any rate, that newspaper pleased some of its usual critics when it declared:

"Whatever may be the clouds on the European horizon, let us determine not to be distracted from the tasks on our own hearth. By putting our own house in order we may, in fact, be doing the best service in keeping our country strong and at peace."

It was, incidentally, only two days previously that another of Lord Beaverbrook's newspapers, the *Daily Express*, had shown a similarly welcome sign of common sense in these words:

"Everybody is nervous. Everybody, accordingly, takes precautions. And the result of the precautions is to make everybody a bit more nervous than he was to start with."

It did not, however, go on to suggest that Britain should therefore give up these futile precautions.

Abolish Taxes?

THE following thought is from a review of *Railways, Roads, and the Public*, in the *Railway Gazette* for March 31:

"Lately, the ability of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to lay hands on almost unlimited sums of money to finance measures of national defence, without further increasing taxation, has raised the question of whether taxation is necessary at all. The £7,000,000,000 which was raised to pay for the last war has apparently still not been repaid, nor does there appear the least likelihood that it can ever be repaid."

"Such curious phenomena, when they affect the purse and therefore the whole life of the individual, for better or for worse—mostly for

worse—cannot continue to be exempt from irreverent analysis."

It would be instructive to hear a few experts in economics explaining why the suggestion is impracticable.

Job for Public Opinion

THE fact that the power of control admission of refugees given to Immigration Authorities is theoretically absolute but is in practice modified by public opinion was pointed out by one of the speakers at a recent conference in Oxford of national and local refugee organizations.

In recent years, said this speaker, there had been a modification in favour of refugees.

We would add, however, that since the control over admission is still much too strict in face of the immensity of the refugee problem, there is still room for further modification by the pressure of public opinion.

Any local refugee committee can give facts to support the argument that British efforts to deal with the problem are hopelessly inadequate, and those who have the cause of the refugees at heart would do well to make the facts known as widely as possible. If public opinion is the final arbiter, it needs to be instructed.

PEACE CALL TO 300 MILLION CATHOLICS

AN appeal "to the three hundred million Catholics of the world, and to all Christians and other men of good will who will associate themselves with it, to carry out the Catholic injunction that every effort must be made to find a pacific settlement of differences before war can be justly resorted to," was made by the *Catholic Herald* last week.

Declaring that it did not believe that every effort had yet been made, the paper asked those in agreement

"to appeal in the first instance to the Holy Father, the one person in the whole world who cannot be suspected of national bias, and to the Catholic Hierarchies who are full of understanding of the real evils of war, to plead in our name to the statesmen of the world, and those in particular whose voices in the present situation are decisive, to break with the past ties and commitments, to forget mutual recriminations (even just ones) and to come together in conference with clean slates, prepared to think in terms of the real good of the people whose destinies they hold in their hands."

GENUINE SACRIFICES NEEDED

It pointed out that "both sides must come together prepared for genuine sacrifices in the real interests of the welfare of the ordinary citizen of each country."

Although this call for a peace conference is similar in its object to that constantly made by the pacifist movement, it was described by the *Catholic Herald* as "not a pacifist appeal... an appeal for real justice and real charity."

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